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ABSTRACT

This 10-day unit on the French Revolution is designed to help high school students understand the interplay of economic, social, and political forces in the process of revolutionary change, and the development of modern democratic forms of government. Critical thinking and geographic skill activities are employed throughout the unit and include map and diagramming exercises, role playing, writing essays, and analyzing primary documents. All the materials necessary for the completion of this unit are provided. (DB)

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The French Revolution

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The French Revolution

Adapted by E. Robert Scrofani*
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Berkeley High School,
Berkeley CA 94704 June, 1990

Absolute monarchy is challenged by a new class, the bourgeoisie, who, inspired by new ideas, create a new form of government.

Key Terms, Facts, Names:

Absolute Monarchy, Louis XIV
Enlightenment Philosophers
Estates General; Louis XVI, composition of the three estates
Bastille, sans-culottes, National Assembly
The Terror: Robespierre, Jacobins, National Convention
Counter Revolution
Napolean; military conquest, Napoleanic Code Civil
Louis XVIII, Matternich, Council of Europe

Central Concepts:

-- The interplay of economic, social and political forces in the process of revolutionary change.

-- The development of modern democratic forms of government; separation of powers, the debunking of "divine right," political equality of citizens...

Summary of Critical Thinking and Geographic Skills Activities:

1. Students will compare and contrast the philosophy of Louis XIV with the opposing philosophies of the Enlightenment.

2. Students will take on different personalities in the Estates General, adopt their point of view, and simulate a re-enactment of the events of 1789.

3. Using a simple model, students will diagram the stages of the French Revolution (Status Quo; Moderate Reform; Radical Reform; Counter Revolution)

4. Students will analyze a primary document on the Bastille.

5. Students will identify bias in conflicting historical views of Napolean analyzing his positive and negative impacts.

6. Students will map Napolean's long march into Moscow with appropriate graphic illustration.

7. Students will write an essay on Napolean; "Hero or Villain?"

(cont.)

* *"Teaching the French Revolution," Center for Western Studies, Institute of International Relations, UC Berkeley. Our special thanks to Professor Richard Herr, UC Berkeley; Pat McMillan, San Ramon Valley School District and Professor Barbara Scales, UC Berkeley Child Study Center.*

Critical Thinking and Geographic Skills Activities (continued)

8. In a dramatic exercise, students will look at the deaths of common people through their own creative writings and imagine the manner of their death to be recorded for posterity in the "Book of Time."

9. Students will complete a spoke diagram outlining the major events of the French Revolution and their causes.

Day-by-Day Overview of Ten-Day Unit

Day 1:

The Old Regime: use article, "The Sun King," to explain absolute monarchy, integration of church and state, expansionist wars, Louis XIV's downfall. Introduce Enlightenment Philosophers. Compare "Controlling Ideas" of the era (see highlighted sections of article) to new ideas. Break class up into six groups, assigning each a primary source document (Docs 1-5). Have each group report to the class on the differences between their Philosopher and Louis XIV's ideas. Assign short essay comparing Louis XIV's ideas with those of the Enlightenment Philosophers (or worksheet #37).

Day 2:

Lecture: Forces in conflict. Function of government -- problems facing Louis XVI's government. Composition and interests of the Estates General (nobility, bourgeoisie, clergy, working and peasant classes). Review instructions for meeting of the Estates General. Students meet by estate, get parts, discuss costumes and props. Assign reading from The Challenge of Change, pages 73-83, and writing of statements for the next day's activity. Also, bring costumes and props.

Day 3:

Estates General Simulation: First students meet separately in estates, read parts, list grievances for presentation to the King's Representative. Second, conduct dramatic reading of script. Assign reading from The Challenge of Change, pages 84-89. Assign worksheet #40 ("Analyzing a Primary Source: The Storming of the Bastille").

Day 4:

De-Brief the Estates General activity. Show Film: "The Bastille." Diagram stages of the revolution. Assign reading from The Challenge of Change, pages 89-97, and Focus Questions (Handout A).

Day 5:

Oral Reading from Robespierre, "Goals of the Revolution" (Doc 6), Film: "The Terror." Review diagram of the revolutionary process, and discuss the reactionary period, and the rise of Napolean. Direct students to Illustration #1. Introduce spoke diagram. Assign reading from The Challenge of Change, pgs. 97-107, and list of Napolean's positive and negative influences.

Day 6:

Utilize lists, lecture on Napolean: Review how Napolean came to power, military conquests, Napoleanic code civil, downfall. Film: "The End of a Dictator." Oral reading of "The Grand Army Retreats from Moscow" (Doc 7). Direct students to Illustration #2. Assign mapping: Give students the blank map of Europe and xerox of Napolean's conquests. Have them fill in geographic features along the route of Napolean's long march to Moscow using handout, classroom maps, atlas, encyclopedias. Have them include illustrations to depict what happened on that march.

Day 7:

Review Napolean's downfall. Direct students to illustration #3. Assign each of five groups one of the pages of quotes on Napolean (Docs 8-12). Sixth group receives two pages of paintings depicting Napolean. Have each group identify the author's (or artist's) view of Napolean using a list of descriptive adjectives, which should then be compared using the board. Introduce The Long Dead activity. Assign creative writing activity for The Long Dead: Death of a common person.

Day 8:

The Long Dead (see instructions attached). Recorders take down stories--first one half the class, then the other. Assign preparation of name plates to be posted on the wall, representing this person for posterity (8 1/2 x 11 sideways, illustrated and with epigraph).

Day 9:

Complete The Long Dead activity, posting name plates on the board with tape while reporting on who the person was for the Book of the Dead. Debrief. Assign essay: Napolean, Hero or Villain?

Day 10:

Complete spoke diagram with reordering of Europe. Use oral reading from "The Political Creed of Prince Metternich" to define what the "Controlling Ideas" dominated the era after Napolean, comparing those to the "Controlling Ideas" under Louis XIV. Spoke Diagram Take Home Test.

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS FOUNDATION

Bill of Rights In Action Day 1

Winter 1987 / Vol. 3, No. 3

Separation of Powers / World History

The Sun King: France Under the Absolute Rule of Louis XIV

One must beware of oneself and one's inclinations and always be on guard against one's nature.

— from *Memoirs of Louis XIV*

One day, King Louis XIII's son was instructed by his writing teacher to copy these words over and over again: "Homage is due to kings, they may do as they please." The future king of France was not really a scholar, but he learned this lesson well. When he became king, he reigned over France as if it and all its people were his personal possessions. He became the model of an absolute ruler. He was Louis XIV, the Sun King.

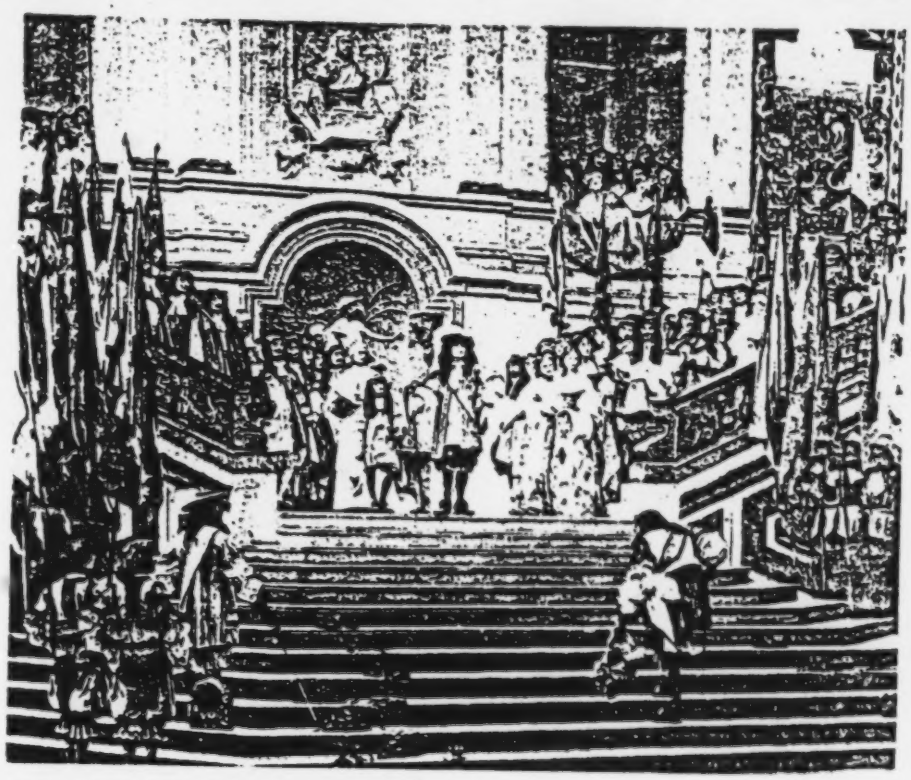
The Sunrise

When Louis was four years old, his father died. Louis' mother, Anne of Austria, ruled in his name until he came of age. Since Anne had no desire to actually govern France, she appointed Jules Mazarin as First Minister. It was Mazarin, an Italian diplomat and Cardinal in the Roman Catholic Church, who really ran the government of France until Louis came of age.

In addition to being First Minister, Cardinal Mazarin took on the responsibility of tutoring young Louis in the craft of kingship. Mazarin based his lessons on his own real-life experiences in running the country and dealing with foreign powers. When he decided Louis should study warfare, Mazarin sent him off to watch real battles. This interested and excited Louis more than any other part of his education.

On June 7, 1654, at age 15, Louis was crowned in Rheims Cathedral, the site of French coronations since the days of Joan of Arc. He wore a robe woven from silver cloth and a black velvet cap studded with diamonds. For a while, Louis allowed his First Minister, Mazarin, to continue to run the government. But the young king soon showed signs of impatience. Less than a year after his coronation, Mazarin informed Louis that the Parlement of Paris was holding an unauthorized meeting. A body of lawyers and judges, the Parlement had the limited responsibility of registering the edicts or official proclamations of the king (at this time actually written by Mazarin).

Louis apparently became angry when the Parlement met with the intention of debating his edicts. The 16-year-old king, who had been hunting in the country, rode directly to Paris and stormed into the meeting. Still in his hunting clothes, Louis told the Parlement to stop their discussion of his edicts. He then strode out before anyone had a chance to say a word. In this, Louis XIV's first and only confrontation with democracy, democracy lost.



Louis XIV and his Court. (The Bettmann Archive.)

Cardinal Mazarin died in 1661. The king shocked everyone when he announced, the morning after Mazarin's funeral, that he intended to rule as his own First Minister. He would be the absolute ruler of France.

Louis believed in the "divine right of kings." According to this belief, God placed kings on earth to act as His representatives. One French writer referred to kings as "the image of God" on earth. In effect, the authority of kings was the authority of God, and those who opposed a king opposed God. It followed that kings were accountable only to God, not to other men or even to the law. Though all-powerful, kings were also commanded by God to rule wisely and justly.

Louis XIV himself wrote: "The function of kings consists principally in permitting

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With these editions of *Bill of Rights in Action*, Constitutional Rights Foundation will commemorate the Bicentennial of our Constitution. From now until 1991, the Bicentennial of the Bill of Rights, we will bring you special features focusing on important constitutional themes and issues. As before, each article and activity is designed to be incorporated into what you already teach: U.S. History, U.S. Government, World History, Economics and International Studies. This issue focuses on separation of powers.

We hope that you will join with us in making our precious constitutional heritage an integral part of every student's education throughout the United States. Send us your name and mailing address and, four times a year, you will receive *Bill of Rights in Action* absolutely free. (See page 7.)

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good sense to do its work...." To Louis, "good sense" always turned out to be what he believed was best for France. Louis believed he owned France and that its people were his children. As such, he expected complete obedience from all of them, nobles as well as peasants.

When in power, Louis XIV literally supervised everything and everyone in his government. He wrote in his *Memoirs*:

> ...I have been marching...never easing up on my labors; informed about everything; listening to the least of my subjects; knowing at every moment the number and the quality of my troops and the condition of my strongholds; constantly giving my orders for all their needs; negotiating directly with ambassadors from foreign nations; receiving and reading dispatches; ...handling the Revenue and expenses of my State;...keeping my affairs so secret that nobody else ever deals with them before me....

Louis XIV did have advisors, but he made all the important decisions. He appointed all his government officials but excluded nobles whom he distrusted. He sent his men into the provinces to extend his control over local matters. He appointed judges to preside over controversial trials. He established taxes by edict. He and his able finance minister, Colbert, regulated industry, agriculture and trade with a blizzard of detailed rules. All books and other publications had to be approved by his censors. In the words of one French historian, "In this great realm, there was no longer anyone who could breathe freely." His rule was absolute.

The Glory

Louis XIV did not spend all his time supervising dull government affairs. Louis became the patron of artists, playwrights, composers and writers. Paris became the center of the arts, fashion and manners. To be a cultured person anywhere in the world, one had to read and speak French.

Without doubt, the greatest cultural achievement of Louis XIV was his spectacular palace at Versailles, 12 miles from Paris. Louis hired the best architects and artists to build and decorate what would become the symbol of his reign. On some days 30,000 workers labored at Versailles. In 1682, some 20 years after the work on Versailles began, Louis moved into the palace with its hundreds of rooms and magnificent Hall of Mirrors. Louis himself wrote the first guidebook for the Garden of Versailles, an overwhelming sight by itself.

About 6,000 people lived at Versailles, where Louis XIV now held his court. Many were nobles who had little to do but attend the king's parties, gamble and gossip. One noblewoman complained in her diary: "Life is more boring here than any other place in the world." As for the king, he enjoyed hunting, entertaining foreign visitors and watching the latest plays and ballets (he danced in some himself). He also spent time with his mistresses and flock of illegitimate children.

For the rest of his life, Louis XIV worked and played at Versailles. Because all of France seemed to revolve around him, it was only natural that his subjects called him "The Sun King."

In foreign affairs, Louis XIV wanted to make France the most powerful country in the world. To fulfill this desire, Louis decided to build the best army in Europe. Since Louis had largely excluded the nobles from his government, he put them in charge of establishing his army. Rather than appointing his officers on the basis of feudal privilege and rank, he chose them for their ability and seniority. This created some discontent, but led to a more efficient fighting force.

Louis made the Marquis de Louvois his "Grand Marshal." Louvois attracted soldiers into the army with decent pay, bonuses, medical care, decorations and a chance for promotion. He introduced new elements of military discipline, such as marching in step. He armed his men with muskets and bayonettes and made the infantry the most important part of the army. By 1672, Louvois commanded a military force of over 100,000 men, the largest and most modern in Europe.

Louis built up his army for the security and glory of France. Surrounded by potential enemies, Louis sent his army on expeditions to expand French territory. Between 1671 and 1684, France fought largely successful wars with Spain; Holland, England and the Holy Roman Empire. At times, Louis took personal command of his army. Louis believed that the victories won added to the glory of France and of course, to himself.

Louis XIV's First Minister and tutor, Cardinal Mazarin. (The Bettmann Archive.)

By 1685, at age 47, the Sun King had reached the peak of his brilliance. All of Europe acknowledged him as Le Grand Monarque, The Great King. Other kings not only feared him but also tried to imitate his style. Even the Catholic Church was intimidated. He wrote to Pope Innocent XI: "I am absolute master of all my subjects... and no one whoever he may be has any right to meddle in that which I find it appropriate to command."

Many of the French people seemed to admire their Great King and supported his rule. The nobles were proud of their role as officers in the greatest army in Europe. Many from the middle class enjoyed their positions of influence in the king's government. The merchants prospered under the king's economic policies. The peasants preferred the absolute rule of Louis XIV over the oppression of the local nobility. All gloried in the splendor of Versailles at home and the prestige of France abroad. Then, suddenly, the Sun began to set.

The Sunset

As Louis XIV surveyed his kingdom in 1685, only one group of people seemed to be outside his control. They were the Huguenots, a minority of one million Protestants living in Catholic France. In the area of religion, as in all other matters, Louis believed that his subjects should obey the will of their king. It made "good sense" to Louis that if he was Catholic all his subjects should be, too.

In 1598, Henry IV, the grandfather of Louis XIV, had issued the Edict of Nantes. Although it proclaimed France a Catholic country, it allowed the Protestant Huguenots to worship freely. As an act of religious tolerance, the Edict of Nantes brought an end to religious warfare in France.

The Huguenots tended to work hard and were obedient to their king in all matters except for their Protestant religion. When he became king, Louis encouraged his officials to pressure the Huguenots to convert to Catholicism. Huguenots were barred from certain trades and professions until they joined the Catholic Church. A Bureau of Conversions offered bribes to Huguenots if they would convert. As a result of these efforts, many Huguenots became Catholics.

On October 17, 1685, Louis took the final step. By cancelling the Edict of Nantes, he outlawed the Protestant religion in France. All Protestant ministers were ordered out of the country, while followers of the "pretended reformed religion" were forbidden to leave.

Louis authorized extreme measures to force the Huguenots to convert to Catholicism. Huguenot churches were destroyed. Soldiers were quartered in the homes of some Huguenot families until they converted. Special taxes were imposed on those still refusing to embrace the Catholic faith. Huguenot children had to be baptized in Catholic churches and were sent to Catholic schools.

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and worship secretly. About 200,000 fled from the country at this time, sometimes with the help of their Catholic neighbors. Those who were caught often ended up in prison or chained to oars in the king's galleys. Some Huguenot leaders were hanged, some Huguenot women found themselves banished to Catholic convents.

Though many Huguenots converted to Catholicism, few truly embraced the new faith. Others resisted violently and even formed military units that marched against the royal army. Civil war threatened. Perhaps most damaging to France was the flight of thousands of Huguenot skilled workers, farmers, merchants and other hard-working people to Holland, England and elsewhere.

Adding to the religious turmoil after 1685 were a number of foreign wars that for 20 years drained France of manpower, money and food. Alliances formed by other European powers inflicted a series of disastrous defeats for Louis' army. The Battle of Denain, fought in the Netherlands in 1712, almost resulted in an invasion of France. Though victorious, the army, as well as the rest of France, was exhausted.

Doubts about the Sun King and his policies were not new. The Archbishop of Cambrai wrote a scathing letter to Louis in 1694 condemning him for the suffering he had caused his subjects by starting a series of unjust wars: "...You have been rendered the common enemy of your neighbors and have been caused to appear a cruel master in your realm....Your people, whom you should love as your children...are dying of hunger." The Archbishop described France as "but a gre[illegible]porhouse" with abandoned farms, depopulated cities and halted trade. "It is you, Sire, who called down on yourself all these difficulties," he continued. "Everyone sees this, but no one dares bring it to your attention."

The letter also contained some advice: "True courage consists of undeceiving yourself and making firm decisions according to necessity." Louis probably never saw this letter. Even if he had seen it, it is doubtful that he would have changed any of his policies which still made "good sense" to him.

Toward the end of his reign, Louis suffered a string of personal losses that threatened his succession. His son, whom he had been training to take over as king, died in 1712. His grandson, next in the line of succession, died a few weeks later. Another grandson died in 1714. His last male heir, a great-grandson, was only four years old when Louis became ill in 1715. A few days before he died, he spoke to the child who would later become Louis XV:

> My child, you are going to be a great king, do not imitate me in the taste I have had for building, or in what I have had for war; try, on the contrary, to be at peace with your neighbors.

King Louis XIV died on September 1, 1715, a few days before his 75th birthday. light of the Sun King was extinguished forever.

For Discussion and Writing

1. Louis XIV has been called the greatest example of an absolute ruler in European history. What evidence from the article can you give to support this judgment? What is the difference between an absolute and a democratic ruler?
2. Write a letter to Louis XIV expressing your opinion about his absolute rule.
3. Vincent Buranelli, a biographer of Louis XIV, has made this judgment about the Sun King: "The French Revolution could not have occurred under Louis XIV, but except for him, the upheaval might not have occurred under his successor." Explain this quotation in your own words. Find evidence in the article to support Buranelli's claims.
4. Read the quotation from the *Memoirs of Louis XIV* at the beginning of this article. Do you think Louis XIV followed his own advice? Why or why not?

For Further Reading

Buranelli, Vincent. *Louis XIV*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1966.

Lewis, W.H. *The Splendid Century, Life in the France of Louis XIV*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1953.

A C T I V I T Y

The Sun King on Trial

Louis XIV was an absolute ruler, but was he guilty of being a *tyrant*? A tyrant is a cruel and oppressive ruler. In this activity you will have an opportunity to put the Sun King on trial before "The Court of History."

1. Organize the class into three groups.
   a. One small group of 2-5 students will act as the prosecution.
   b. Another small group of 2-5 students will act as the defense.
   c. The rest of the class will act as the jury.
2. The question in this trial is this: Should the Sun King be found guilty of being a tyrant?
   a. The prosecutors will try to convince the jurors that Louis XIV was a tyrant by presenting evidence from the article showing that he was a cruel and oppressive ruler.
   b. The defenders will try to convince the jurors that Louis XIV was not a tyrant by presenting evidence from the article showing that he was a great king who ruled for the benefit and glory of France.
   c. The prosecutors and defenders may wish to do additional research in their history textbook, encyclopedias and the school library.
   d. The jurors will listen to each side make its presentation of evidence, ask questions and finally vote on the King is found guilty, he will be punished by being forever condemned by history.

Montesquieu and the Separation of Powers

The French philosopher, Montesquieu. (The Bettmann Archive.)

In 1748, a French nobleman, Baron de Montesquieu, wrote a book called *The Spirit of the Laws*. Montesquieu, who was 26 when Louis XIV died, argued that there could be no liberty when all government power was in the hands of one person or even one group of rulers.

How could a country have government and liberty too? In his book, Montesquieu described a political system that separated power into three branches of government. The most important branch, the legislature, was to be divided between two houses: one representing the nobility and the other representing the common people. Together these two houses were to make the laws, and each house would have the power to veto the other's acts.

The executive branch, according to Montesquieu, should be headed by a king who would have the right to veto the acts of the legislature. The king would also have the responsibility of carrying out the laws, providing for the public safety and conducting foreign affairs.

The judiciary, the third and weakest branch of government, would try and punish criminals as well as resolve legal disputes among individuals. Montesquieu viewed the national judges as "no more than the mouth that pronounces the words of the law, mere passive beings."

Montesquieu believed that a government based on this "separation of powers" plan would ensure liberty by preventing the establishment of an absolute ruler like Louis XIV. About 40 years after Montesquieu wrote *The Spirit of the Laws*, the Founding Fathers at Philadelphia included the basic idea of the separation of powers in the United States Constitution. What are the similarities and what are the differences between Montesquieu's plan and the separation of powers in the Constitution?

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PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENTS

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

DOCUMENT 1.
The Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755) was a jurist and political philosopher whose most celebrated contribution to Western thought was the idea that the separation of powers was necessary to protect individual freedom. This selection is from The Spirit of the Laws (1748), his greatest work in which he compared republican, despotic, and monarchical forms of government:[10]

On monarchy:

A monarchical government supposes . . . pre-eminence and ranks, as likewise a noble descent. Now since it is the nature of honor to aspire to preferments and titles, it is properly placed in this government . . .

Honor sets all parts of the body politic in motion, and by its very action connects them; thus each individual advances the public good, while he thinks of promoting his own interest.

On democracy and republics:

Virtue in a republic is a most simple thing; it is a love of the republic; it is a sensation and not a consequence of acquired knowledge, a sensation that may be felt by the meanest as well as the highest person in the state . . . The love of our country is conducive to a purity of morals, and pure morals lead to love of country.

A love of the republic in a democracy is a love of the democracy; as the latter is that of equality. A love of democracy is likewise that of frugality.

This virtue may be defined as the love of the laws of our country. As such love requires a constant preference of public to private interest, it is the source of all private virtues; for they are nothing more than this very preference itself.

Democracy and aristocracy are not at all free states by their nature. Political liberty is found only in moderate governments. But it is not always found in moderate states; it is there only when there is no abuse of power; but it is an eternal experience that every man who has power is led to abuse it.

In which government must there by censors? They are necessary in a republic, where the principle of government is virtue. Not only crimes destroy virtue, but also negligence, faults, indifference to love of country, dangerous examples, seeds of corruption; that which does not break the laws but eludes them; that which does not destroy yet enfeebles them: all of this must be corrected by censors.

DOCUMENT 2.

As a historian, playwright, and satirist, Voltaire (1694-1778) was one of the leading philosophes of the Enlightenment. He spent much of his career fighting for religious toleration. This excerpt is from Voltaire's Philosophical Dictionary (1764):[16]

On democracy:

As a rule there is no comparison between the crimes of great men, who are always ambitious, and the crimes of the people, who always want, and can only want, liberty and equality. These two sentiments, Liberty and Equality, do not lead straight to calumny, rapine, assassination, poisoning, the devastation of one's neighbors' lands, etc. But ambitious might and the mania for power plunge men into all these crimes, whatever the time, whatever the place.

Popular government is in itself, therefore, less iniquitous, less abominable than despotic power.

On the concept of country:

A country is a composite of several families; and because we stand by our families out of self-love, when we have no conflicting interest, so also out of self-love we stand by our town or village, which we call our country. The larger the country becomes, the less we love it, for divided love is weaker. It is impossible to love tenderly too numerous a family which we hardly know . . .

There cannot be a state on earth which was not first governed as a republic: it is the natural course of human nature. A few families first assembled against the bears and wolves; the family which had grain exchanged it with that which had only wood . . .

Is it better today for one's country to be a monarchical or a republican state? The question has been debated for 4,000 years. Ask the rich for a solution, they all prefer an aristocracy. Ask the people, they want democracy: only kings prefer monarchy. How then is it possible that nearly all the world is governed by monarchs? . . . In truth, the real reason is, as I have said, that men are very rarely worthy to govern themselves.

DOCUMENT 3.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) was one of the most influential yet ambiguous figures of the Enlightenment. Unlike most of the philosophes, Rousseau wrote much about the evils of civilization, not its benefits. In The Social Contract (1762) he spelled out the institutions necessary to correct the injustices brought about by civilization. The following excerpt from The Social Contract expounds the necessity of "religious" adherence to the state:[3]

On civil religion:

[In the preceding paragraphs, Rousseau has explained the traditional forms of religious practices.] There is, however, a purely civil profession of faith, the articles of which it is the duty of the sovereign to determine, not exactly as dogmas of religion, but as sentiments of sociability, without which it is impossible to be a good citizen or a faithful subject. Without having power to compel anyone to believe them, the sovereign may banish from the State whoever does not believe them; it may banish him not as impious, but as unsociable, as incapable of sincerely loving law and justice and of sacrificing at need his life to his duty. But if anyone, after publicly acknowledging these dogmas, behaves like an unbeliever in them, he should be punished with death; he has committed the greatest of crimes, he has lied before the laws.

The dogmas of civil religion ought to be few in number, stated with precision, and without explanations or commentaries. The existence of the Deity, powerful, wise, beneficent, prescient, and bountiful, the life to come, the happiness of the just, the punishment of the wicked, the sanctity of the social contract and of the laws; these are the positive dogmas. As for the negative dogmas, I limit them to one only, that is, intolerance; it belongs to the creeds which we have excluded.

Document 4.

The three orders which comprised the Estates General were the Clergy, the Nobility and the "Third Estate." Because it represented most of French society, the Third Estate could not enjoy privileges -- special rights of an exclusive group upon which Old Regime society was based. Thus, in his famous pamphlet What is the Third Estate? (1789) Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès called for an end to the privileged orders:

The plan of this work is quite simple. We have three questions to consider:

1. What is the Third Estate? Everything.
2. What has it been in the political order up to the present? Nothing.
3. What does it demand? To become something . . .

What is necessary for the subsistence and prosperity of a nation? Particular labors and public functions.

[Particular labors are performed by tillers of the soil, craftsmen, merchants, and servants.] Such are the works that maintain society. Who supports them? The Third Estate.

Public functions may similarly . . . be arranged under four recognized denominations, the Sword, the Robe, the Church, and the Administration.[1] It would be superfluous to run through them in detail in order to show how the Third Estate is nineteen twentieths of these, with this difference, that is responsible for all that is truly laborious, all the services that the privileged order refuses to perform. The lucrative and titulary positions are occupied by members of the privileged order. Should we give them credit for that? . . .

It is quite impossible that the body of the nation or even that any particular order should become free if the Third Estate is not free. Privileges do not make one free, but rather rights that belong to everyone.

Who would dare to say, therefore, that the Third Estate does not contain in itself all that is necessary to constitute a complete nation? It is like a strong and robust man whose arms are still in chains. If the privileged order were removed, the nation would not be something less but something more. So what is the Third Estate? Everything, but an "everything" shackled and oppressed. What would it be without the privileged order? Everything, but an "everything" free and flourishing. Nothing can get along without it, everything can get along infinitely better without the others. [In addition] it must be proved that the nobility does not enter into the social order; that it can well be a burden on the nation . . .

The noble order is foreign among us not less because of its civil and public prerogatives.

What is a nation? A body of associates living under a common law and represented by the same legislature . . .

The Third Estate therefore includes everything that belongs to the nation; and everything that is not the Third Estate cannot be regarded as being of the nation. What is the Third Estate? Everything . . .

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[1]The "Robe" refers to the royal courts of justice, since the judges wore long red robes.

Document 5.

Olympe de Gouges was a self-educated woman who wrote plays, novels, and political pamphlets before and during the Revolution. Her Declaration of the Rights of Woman and Citizen, addressed to Marie Antoinette, was the most radical call for women's rights of the era. De Gouges deliberately adapted the style and format of the Declaration of the Rights of Man yet implicitly criticized it for liberating men only. This excerpt is from the preamble and postamble of the Declaration of the Rights of Woman and Citizen, (1791):

The mothers, daughters, and sisters, representatives of the nation, demand to be constituted a national assembly. Considering that ignorance, disregard of or contempt for the rights of women are the only causes of public misfortune and of governmental corruption, they have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration, the natural, inalienable and sacred rights of woman; to the end that this declaration, constantly held up to all members of society, may always remind them of their rights and duties; to the end that the acts based on women's power and those based on the power of men, being constantly measured against the goal of all political institutions, may be more respected; and so that the demands of female citizens, henceforth founded on simple and indisputable principles, may ever uphold the constitution and good morals, and may contribute to the happiness of all . . .

Woman, wake up! The tocsin of reason is sounding throughout the Universe; know your rights. The powerful empire of nature is no longer surrounded by prejudices, fanaticism, superstition and lies. The torch of truth has dispelled all the clouds of stupidity and usurpation. Man enslaved has multiplied his forces; he has had recourse to yours in order to break his own chains. Having become free, he has become unjust toward his mate. Oh Women! Women! when will you cease to be blind? What advantages have you gained in the Revolution? A more marked scorn, a more signal disdain.

Name _____ Class _____ Date _____

WORKSHEET

37 Analyzing Information: New Ideas on Government

Read the following passages expressing the ideas of Enlightenment philosophers. Then answer the questions below. Read textbook pages 338 and 346–48 for background.

Rousseau: Man is born free, yet everywhere he is in chains.

The government is created by a contract among the people and receives its powers from them.

The government exists to serve the people and when it no longer does so the people may change it.

Locke: All men have certain natural rights: the right to life, liberty and property. The purpose of government is to protect these rights. If it fails to do so the people may set up a new government.

Voltaire: It is to him who masters our minds by the force of truth, not to those who enslave men by violence . . . that we owe our reverence.

Popular government is in itself, therefore, less [unjust], less [hated] than despotic power.

Montesquieu: . . . There is no liberty if the judicial power is not separated from the legislative and executive branches.

1. According to the theories of Locke and Rousseau, how did government originate? _____

_____

2. According to them, what is the purpose of government? _____

_____

3. What can the people do if the government does not fulfill its function? _____

_____

4. How does this theory compare with the divine right theory of government? _____

_____

_____

5. What is Voltaire's attitude toward government? _____

_____

6. What kind of government would Voltaire like to see? _____

_____

7. What would be Montesquieu's opinion of the French government under Louis XIV? _____

_____

_____

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Day 2

The Three Estates - 1789
A Simulation and Role Play

To the Student:

For the next few days in class you will be studying the events and conditions leading up to the French Revolution in 1789. You will then act out two meetings in class. The first one is a meeting with other members of your estate and is similar to actual meetings that occurred in France during this time. The second is fictitious, but it will help you understand the situation in France on the eve of the Revolution.

You will each be a member of a social order or so-called ESTATE in France and will also be given an individual role which you will study and then act out in the meetings. You will try to think and act and speak as the person you are representing might have spoken and acted. You may be creative in playing your role, but you should stay with the basic information given to you. You may be persuaded by others, however, and alter your position on issues if you wish.

THE SITUATION: France, in 1789, is in deep financial trouble. In large part this is due to the money the French government has given to help the American revolutionary forces in their struggle for independence against the King of Great Britain.

The King of France, in desperation, is proposing new taxes in France and even proposing a tax on some groups in French society that have traditionally not been taxed. This is raising an outcry from citizens in the various social orders or so-called ESTATES in France.

The three ESTATES or social orders in France are distinct groups, each with its own privileges or lack thereof. They are as follows: The FIRST ESTATE is made up of clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, the SECOND ESTATE is made up of the aristocracy or NOBLE class, and the THIRD ESTATE is technically everyone else in France. The Third ESTATE is by far the largest group in France and is made up of the BOURGEOISIE (the French word for middle class, which includes the merchants, doctors, lawyers, etc.), the artisans, and the peasants. The peasants are the largest group within the Third Estate and account for about 90% of the French population. The rights and privileges of each of these three ESTATES in France are based in part on the old system of FEUDALISM.

The King has decided to call for a meeting of the ESTATES GENERAL, France's parliamentary body that has not met for 175 years, in hopes of resolving this issue and finding new tax revenues for France. Traditionally, this body has met in separate estates with

each estate expressing its position independently. The nobles expect that according to tradition, when votes are held in the upcoming meeting of the Estates General, each estate will have one vote. (THE SYSTEM BY WHICH EACH ESTATE VOTES SEPARATELY IS KNOWN AS VOTING BY ORDER.) They further expect that the First Estate can be convinced to side with them against the Third Estate, and in this way the First and Second Estates can control the vote at the meeting.

The Third Estate has convinced the King to allow them to select twice as many representatives (called DEPUTIES) as the other two estates to attend the meeting of the Estates General. Now, the Third Estate wants the King to allow the three estates to meet together as one body and to allow each deputy to have an individual vote in the meeting. (THE SYSTEM WHEREBY EACH DEPUTY HAS ONE VOTE IS KNOWN AS VOTING BY HEAD.) In this way the Third Estate hopes to recruit several members from the First and Second Estates to vote with them on the issues and thus control the vote at the meeting.

You will now be allowed to sign up for one of the three estates, or your teacher will assign you to one. You will then receive a sheet explaining your estate and its position, as well as an individual role sheet that you should try to act out in one or both of the meetings. When you receive your role sheet, your teacher will give you time to study it, and you will then write a short speech or statement based on the information you are given. Since other students may be assigned your same role, you may work together in preparing your speech or statement.

You will be asked to present your statement at the meeting with other members of your estate and to act and speak according to your role as the group draws up a list of grievances and requests that will be presented later to the King's representatives.

The two meetings in which you will participate are:

MEETING NUMBER ONE: Each estate will meet separately to discuss their complaints and points of view. (You will give your prepared statement at this meeting.) Each estate will draw up a list of grievances and requests to be presented at the second meeting by one or several members of your estate before a representative of the King. In addition, each estate will take a position on the issue of voting by ORDER or by HEAD (see explanation above) at the meeting of the Estates General.

MEETING NUMBER TWO: Selected members of each estate will present the list of grievances and requests to the King's representative. In addition, the King's representative is instructed to hear your recommendation on the matter of voting in the meeting of the Estates General.

THE CONCLUSION: At the end of meeting #2, you will learn what actually happened during the meeting of the Estates General. Selected students will participate in the reading of a special script that will inform you about the actual events that followed during the course of the French Revolution.

THE FIRST ESTATE

To be distributed to every member of the First Estate:

You are a member of the First Estate. This Estate is made up of the Catholic clergy. Some of your members are higher clergy, who are usually nobles, and some are lower clergy, or parish priests, who are usually commoners. The clergy administer the Church, run schools, keep birth and death records, and care for the poor. Your estate is supported by tithes paid by the people. A tithe is a tax of one-tenth of a farmer's harvest. The church also owns a great deal of land and other property and pays no taxes on this property.

You have been elected to represent your estate at a special meeting prior to the meeting of the Estates General. You will also receive a role sheet telling more about your personal situation and your attitudes regarding the situation in France. Your role is to share your opinions and attitudes during a special meeting of the First Estate. Your estate will then prepare a list of grievances and requests for the King's representative. On the day of the meeting with the King's representative, your estate will make a ten-minute presentation explaining your grievances and requests and will also make a recommendation on the matter of voting by head or by order in the upcoming meeting of the Estates General.

Although your group is about two percent of the population of France, you believe your estate has the right, based on the tradition of each estate expressing a separate opinion to the King, to cast one vote, and that each of the other two estates has one vote also. In this way, your estate may cast the deciding vote should the Second and Third Estates be split on an issue. You know that the Third Estate wishes to change the system of voting as well as to change other traditional rights and privileges of the First and Second Estates in France.

Your teacher will select one of your members to be the leader of the meeting of the First Estate, or ask you to select your own leader. You should read over your assigned role sheet carefully and write out a statement based on your role that you will present in the meeting with other members of your estate. You should argue for your position so that it will be included in the presentation to be made before the King's representative.

Instructions to the leader of the First Estate:

After members of the First Estate have written their statements according to their assigned roles, your job is to conduct a meeting of the members of your estate. Each member should express his or her grievances or point of view regarding the current situation in France.

When all members have made their statements, your job is to help your estate agree on a list of grievances and requests to be presented to the King's representative in a special meeting that has been called. Once the list has been agreed upon, your estate is to prepare a ten-minute presentation to be made before the King's representative. Your estate must also make a recommendation on the matter of voting by head or by order in the Estates General. Your estate may prepare one speech to be given to a selected member or may have several members share the presentation.

You should complete the meeting and prepare the list of grievances and requests by the end of class today. You will have tomorrow in class to complete writing the speech and planning for the meeting with the King's representative. You may use the information sheet describing your estate to help you in preparing your presentation.

THE FIRST ESTATE

To be distributed to every member of the First Estate:

You are a member of the First Estate. This Estate is made up of the Catholic clergy. Some of your members are higher clergy, who are usually nobles, and some are lower clergy, or parish priests, who are usually commoners. The clergy administer the Church, run schools, keep birth and death records, and care for the poor. Your estate is supported by tithes paid by the people. A tithe is a tax of one-tenth of a farmer's harvest. The church also owns a great deal of land and other property and pays no taxes on this property.

You have been elected to represent your estate at a special meeting prior to the meeting of the Estates General. You will also receive a role sheet telling more about your personal situation and your attitudes regarding the situation in France. Your role is to share your opinions and attitudes during a special meeting of the First Estate. Your estate will then prepare a list of grievances and requests for the King's representative. On the day of the meeting with the King's representative, your estate will make a ten-minute presentation explaining your grievances and requests and will also make a recommendation on the matter of voting by head or by order in the upcoming meeting of the Estates General.

Although your group is about two percent of the population of France, you believe your estate has the right, based on the tradition of each estate expressing a separate opinion to the King, to cast one vote, and that each of the other two estates has one vote also. In this way, your estate may cast the deciding vote should the Second and Third Estates be split on an issue. You know that the Third Estate wishes to change the system of voting as well as to change other traditional rights and privileges of the First and Second Estates in France.

Your teacher will select one of your members to be the leader of the meeting of the First Estate, or ask you to select your own leader. You should read over your assigned role sheet carefully and write out a statement based on your role that you will present in the meeting with other members of your estate. You should argue for your position so that it will be included in the presentation to be made before the King's representative.

THE FIRST ESTATE -- Individual Roles to be Handed out:

Role #1 - You are a priest from a rural parish. You live a simple, hardworking life and feel compassion for the peasants who live with great economic hardship in your parish. You feel that they and you contribute more than a fair share to the government and the nation and would like to see the peasants paying fewer taxes.

Role #2 - You are a member of the upper clergy and live in luxury in Paris. You benefit directly from the tithes paid to the Church. These payments often wind up in your hands rather than in the hands of the parish priests. You are quite anxious that no concessions be made to the Third Estate in their demand for a change in the voting procedure. You feel that any decisions that undermine the privileges of the nobility will hurt you also. People are saying that upper clergy should be elected, but you know that you would never be elected because you are a noble. Too many people have been reading Voltaire's criticisms of the Church and the clergy.

Role #3 - You are concerned about the issue of taxes and revenues that the King is trying to raise. In the past, the clergy has not been taxed on their Church-owned land. Instead, your estate makes voluntary contributions to the government. Despite the fact that some members of the Third Estate say that voluntary donations are not enough, you argue that the Church is doing God's work, and that the King is not entitled to your gifts, but should be grateful for what is offered.

Role #4 - You are a parish priest. Because you were born a commoner, you have little or no chance of ever moving through the ranks of the church hierarchy to become a bishop. You are frustrated and angry because of this, and also because the money paid in tithes to the Church to do God's work often winds up in the hands of the upper clergy where it is spent for luxurious living and entertainment.

Role #5 - You are the Abbé Grégoire, a parish priest. You are angry because your bishop and many other clergymen have forgotten that Jesus Christ taught that the poor are blessed and that all men are brothers. If priests and bishops were elected, they would be closer to the people. Because of your convictions, you have helped establish the Society of Friends of the Blacks, which is working to abolish slavery in the French colonies. You would like to cooperate with the deputies in all three estates who want to establish Liberty and Equality in France and spread these ideals to all mankind.

THE SECOND ESTATE

To be distributed to every member of the Second Estate:

You are a member of the Second Estate, which is the nobility in France. Although differences exist between the amount of wealth enjoyed by various members of the nobility, many nobles enjoy great wealth and privileges.

In France at this time only members of your estate or "order" can become bishops in the Church or high ranking officers in the army. You also enjoy other special privileges in France. Members of your estate may carry a sword. Also, your estate does not have to pay taxes on its land, although the nobility owns about one quarter of the land in France. Many members of your estate receive generous gifts and pensions from the King. Since the reign of Louis XIV, the power and prestige of the nobility has been weakened because many wealthy merchants were able to purchase titles of nobility from the King. Most members of your estate would like to have this practice stopped. Others wish to give the Estates General the power to make laws because you believe the First and Second Estates working together can protect the traditional privileges of all nobles.

You are well aware that the Third Estate is quite unhappy with the special privileges enjoyed by your estate and wishes to overthrow traditions that are centuries old. You are also quite concerned because the King has proposed a tax on the nobility as a means of raising additional revenue. Your estate generally opposes this tax.

Furthermore, your estate has heard rumors that the Third Estate wishes to change the traditional system of voting in the coming meeting of the Estates General. Although your estate represents less than one percent of the population of France, you believe your estate has the right, based on the tradition of each estate expressing a separate opinion to the King, to cast one vote, and that each of the other two estates has one vote, also.

Your estate believes that the First Estate will take sides with you on the issues to be discussed at the meeting of the Estates General, and in this way the First and Second Estates can control the meeting.

Your teacher will select one of your members to be the leader of the meeting of the Second Estate, or ask you to select your own leader. You should read over your assigned role sheet carefully and write out a statement based on your role that you will present in the meeting with other members of your estate. You should argue for your position so that it will be included in the presentation to be made before the King's representative.

Instructions to the leader of the Second Estate:

After members of the Second Estate have written their statements according to their assigned roles, your job is to conduct a meeting of the members of your estate. Each member should express his or her grievances or point of view regarding the current situation in France.

When all members have made their statements, your job is to help your estate agree on a list of grievances and requests to be presented to the King's representative in a special meeting that has been called. Once the list has been agreed upon, your estate is to prepare a ten-minute presentation to be made before the King's representative. Your estate must also make a recommendation on the matter of voting by head or by order in the Estates General. Your estate may prepare one speech to be given to a selected member or may have several members share the presentation.

You should complete the meeting and prepare the list of grievances and requests by the end of class today. You will have tomorrow in class to complete writing the speech and planning for the meeting with the King's representative. You may use the information sheet describing your estate to help you in preparing your presentation.

THE SECOND ESTATE -- Individual Roles to be Handed out:

Role #1 - Your family has been a part of the French nobility for over five hundred years. You are quite resentful that under the reign of Louis XIV many members of the Bourgeoisie (middle class) bought titles from the King with money they had made from commerce and trade. You are anxious that this practice be stopped permanently. Your wealth is in your land. You do not have available cash and have a very hard time maintaining your style of life. You depend on the feudal dues paid to you by the peasants. Now, the King is proposing a tax on the nobility. You know that this will destroy you and feel that the Second Estate must oppose this tax at all costs.

Role #2 - You are the ghost of Montesquieu, a former judge in one of the King's highest courts. Being a high judge automatically made you a noble. You have returned to inspire the deputies of the Second Estate to defend the unwritten constitution of the French monarchy, which establishes a king, a nobility, and a common people. Traditionally this makes the nobles the defenders of liberty in France, protecting the people from a tyrant king and defending the king from rebellious subjects. Any changes in the fundamental laws, like ending the tax exemption of nobles, must be approved by the Estates General as traditionally organized, where the First and Second Estates are in control.

Role #3 - Your father purchased the title you now enjoy about fifty years ago. You own a modest amount of land, but are quite wealthy because of your activities in business and commerce in France. You, for one, could afford to pay the tax on nobles being proposed by Louis XVI, but you are concerned that if the King gets away with imposing this tax, it will be the beginning of a constant erosion of other rights and privileges of the nobility. You enjoy the special privilege of carrying a sword. Your main concern, however, is in preventing the Third Estate from gaining any more power than it currently has.

Role #4 - You do not have a title and are only the lord of a village a hundred miles west of Paris. You rent your lands to your peasants, but much of your income comes from your "feudal rights." These include collecting fines, taking a share of your peasants' harvests, and owning the only mill in town, where the peasants have to pay to grind their grain. When you hunt for rabbits and foxes, you can ride your horse through the growing crops of the peasants, and they have to take their hats off when they meet you. You suspect your peasants resent your privileges, but without them how would anyone know that you are not just another wealthy peasant? For the sake of your descendants and of the proper social order, the Second Estate must preserve its rights and privileges.

Role #5 - You are the Marquis de Lafayette. As a young man you volunteered to fight in the American Revolution, and you now look

upon Washington as a father. Although you are a noble, you believe nature has made men free and equal, and you want to become known as the author of a French Declaration of the Rights of Man. Because you are famous, the nobles of your district have elected you their delegate, but they are suspicious of your motives, and they have given you strict orders never to join the Third Estate or vote by head. You are caught in a bind between your ideals and the instructions of the nobles who have elected you.

THE THIRD ESTATE

To be distributed to every member of the Third Estate:

The Third Estate represents everyone in France other than members of the First Estate who are clergy and members of the Second Estate who are nobles. There are various groups within the Third Estate. The middle class accounts for about two percent of French society, the artisans make up about six percent, and the peasants make up about ninety percent of the French population.

Whereas a few of the Third Estate were rich, most were very poor. The middle class merchants, members of the Bourgeoisie, sometimes become wealthy from their commercial activities. Even though the peasants own about half the land in France, often their farms are too small to support a family. Some peasants own no land at all. Some rent farms from the Church, the nobles, or the Bourgeoisie, and others work as day laborers.

Peasants often use only old-fashioned ways of farming. Because you have done most of the farming in France, the nobles have not bothered to improve agricultural methods. Therefore, you cannot produce much per acre.

Because the clergy and the nobles pay almost no taxes, your estate pays most of the taxes in France. Not only do you pay taxes to the government, but peasants must also pay ancient feudal dues to the nobles (manorial dues) and one-tenth of their harvest to the Church (tithes). Every time the King needs money, he raises the taxes on the peasants. They must still use the lord's facilities to bake bread or press grapes, and a fee must be paid to the lord each year for using his facilities.

This last year there was a bad harvest, and now there is a grain shortage. Food prices have skyrocketed in city markets. City workers must now spend all of your income on food and still go hungry. You feel this is unjust.

France is in a terrible financial crisis because of the lavish spending of the King on life in his palace in Versailles, on gifts for favorite nobles, on the military, and to help the Americans in their Revolutionary War. He has finally proposed a tax on the nobility, and you feel it is about time the nobility were taxed.

There is a move to convene a meeting of the Estates General, an advisory body to the King that was established several hundred years earlier. The Third Estate has elected representatives to this body. After demands from leaders of your estate, the King has allowed twice the number of representatives to be elected from the Third Estate as from each of the other two. You also feel that the King should allow each member of the Estates General to have a separate vote, rather than just one vote for each estate. This is only fair, since the Third Estate represents so many more people in France than either of the other two estates. You believe there are some nobles and some members of the clergy who are sympathetic with your estate who might vote with you in the meeting of the Estates General. If the King will allow each member to have one

vote, therefore, the Third Estate will be able to control the meeting.

Your teacher will select one of your members to be the leader of the meeting of the Third Estate, or ask you to select your own leader. You should read over your assigned role sheet carefully and write out a statement based on your role that you will present in the meeting with other members of your estate. You should argue for your position so that it will be included in the presentation to be made before the King's representative.

Instructions to the leader of the Third Estate:

After members of the Third Estate have written their statements according to their assigned roles, your job is to conduct a meeting of the members of your estate. Each member should express his or her grievances or point of view regarding the current situation in France.

When all members have made their statements, your job is to help your estate agree on a list of grievances and requests to be presented to the King's representative in a special meeting that has been called. Once the list has been agreed upon, your estate is to prepare a <u>ten-minute</u> presentation to be made before the King's representative. Your estate must also make a recommendation on the matter of voting by head or by order in the Estates General. Your estate may prepare one speech to be given to a selected member or may have several members share the presentation.

You should complete the meeting and prepare the list of grievances and requests by the end of class today. You will have tomorrow in class to complete writing the speech and planning for the meeting with the King's representative. You may use the information sheet describing your estate to help you in preparing your presentation.

THE THIRD ESTATE -- Individual Roles to be Handed out:

Role #1 - You are the Abbé Sieyès. You are a member of the clergy, but you have been elected as a representative to attend the meeting of the Third Estate. You believe that for the sake of the nation, there must be liberty and equality in France. You may use any of your writings or quotations to help the cause of the Third Estate.

Role #2 - You are a member of the Bourgeoisie. You pay more than your fair share to the government of France, but you have no say in the taxation. You are extremely angry that the King rules by so-called DIVINE RIGHT. He claims to rule over his French subjects as a God-given right. Unfortunately, France has many problems, and the King refuses to make the needed reforms. You are convinced that the only way to deal with the crisis is to draw up a constitution like that of the new American Republic and establish a new government in France which will give a voice and rights to the people. You do not wish to go so far as to do away with the King . . . just limit his power.

Role #3 - You are a peasant. You have no money. Your family does not have enough to eat. You work hard. You pay manorial dues to your noble lord (seigneur), who pays no taxes. You are tired. You are angry. You are especially angry that most of the representatives elected to the Third Estate are from the middle class and not from the peasantry. That is just another injustice you have to suffer.

Role #4 - You are a member of the Bourgeoisie, selling grain to the bakers of Paris. You want your sons to have the opportunity to become SOMETHING in France. You want the special privileges of the nobility abolished so that they can become a bishop in the Church, a general in the army, or a minister of the King. On the other hand, the high price of grain because of bad harvests is making you wealthy, and you are afraid that the King may impose price controls and rationing as he used to do in a food crisis. You want the Estates General to take your side.

Role #5 - You are an artisan from Paris. You dress in the long slacks of the working man, not the silk stockings and fancy breeches of the wealthy, and so you are known as a "sans-culotte" ("sahn cuelot"). Although you are very skilled, the recent bad harvests have made bread so expensive that you cannot buy enough food to keep your children from crying because they are hungry. You are angry because the rich nobles and merchants who buy the furniture you make can still afford lavish parties, and you hope the Estates General will bring down the price of bread and tax the rich to help the poor.

Role #6 - Your are the Count of Mirabeau. You hate your father, who several times obtained an order from the King to put you in prison without trial because you kept getting in trouble and

disgracing the family name. Your pamphlets attacking the corruption of the nobility and royal government have made you popular with the Bourgeoisie, and so you have been elected a delegate of the Third Estate even though you are a noble. In the Estates General you hope to use your great ability as a public speaker to create a parliamentary constitutional monarchy based on liberty and equality.

THE REVOLUTION -- VOICES FROM HISTORY

A Student Script

Note to the Teacher: Art plates illustrating people and events from the French Revolution correspond with some of the "voices from history" in this script. You should direct students' attention to these plates where noted in the script either during or following the reading of the script.

VOICE ONE -- Sieyès (To be read at the conclusion of the role play)

I demand in the name of the people and in the name of the Third Estate who are the people of France, that these Estates meet in Versailles at the appointed time, not as separate bodies, but united as one body WITH EVERY DEPUTY HAVING A SEPARATE AND EQUAL VOTE. There can never be true liberty in France until the Third Estate is FREE.

We have three questions to ask:

First: What is the Third Estate? Everything.

Second: What has it been in the political order up to the present? Nothing.

Third: What does it demand? To become something . . .

VOICE TWO -- KING LOUIS XVI

My name is Louis XVI. I am the King of France who called the meeting of the Estates General in order to raise additional taxes. Many delegates to this special meeting expressed a hostile attitude toward me. As a member of the nobility, I had a natural sympathy toward the aristocracy but was torn between the demands of the Second Estate who wished to have their privileges protected and by the demands of the Third Estate to gain equality. They even wanted to write a constitution for France. I finally banished the Third Estate from the meeting hall. (See Plate 1)

VOICE THREE -- SIEYES

I am the Abbé Sieyès. Although I am a member of the First Estate, I was elected to serve as a deputy to the Third Estate. After being banished from the meeting hall, we deputies of the Third Estate were joined by some deputies of the First and Second Estates, and we adjourned to a nearby tennis court. There we swore an oath known as the Tennis Court Oath. In this oath, we demanded again that all estates meet together as one body and swore not to disband until we had written a constitution for France. (See Plate 2)

VOICE FOUR -- KING LOUIS XVI

Upon hearing this demand, I, King Louis XVI, gave in and ordered the members of the First and Second Estates to meet as one body with the Third Estate. The Third Estate now called their assembly the National Assembly rather than the Estates General. The Revolution in France had begun.

VOICE FIVE -- A MEMBER OF THE FRENCH GUARD

I am a member of the French Guard. On July 14, I took part in an attack on a fortress and prison. This event is known as the STORMING OF THE BASTILLE. The crowds that stormed the Bastille were already angry about the food shortages and high prices. Now, rumors were circulating about a conspiracy among the nobles to crush the rebellion of the Third Estate. Many people were fearful of the King's power. When the King began to concentrate troops around Paris, the crowd in anger attacked the Bastille in search of weapons to help save the Revolution. Some prisoners were released and nearly one hundred people from the crowd were killed. This event became the symbol of the French Revolution and is remembered today in France as a national holiday. (See Plate 3)

VOICE SIX -- A PEASANT

I am a member of the Third Estate, a peasant who lives in the countryside. There were many rumors in the countryside following the storming of the Bastille. Everywhere peasants heard rumors that the nobles were behind plots to destroy crops and homes of the peasants. Historians have called this the GREAT FEAR, and for those of us living during this time, this seems to be a good description. Some of my friends who lived near to me took up arms to protect themselves. Some burned the homes of hated nobles to whom they still paid feudal dues. One of my friends destroyed tax records and took an oath never to pay feudal dues again. Since not many of us were represented at the meeting of the Estates General, I suppose this was our contribution to the Revolution.

VOICE SEVEN -- A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

I am a member of the National Assembly. On the day of August 4, I participated in a debate in the Assembly on proposed reforms. This debate went on long into the night until we were exhausted. By the end of that long evening, most of the old feudal customs had been abolished. Serfs were now free, and the nobles were no longer exempt from their taxes. Now all Frenchmen, not just the noble class, could hold high government and Church positions. In one night, we Frenchmen had overturned the whole of the ancient order of the kingdom.

VOICE EIGHT -- ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

I was also a member of the National Assembly. By the end of August the National Assembly of France had adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man. This declaration became the basis for civil equality in France. It has been compared to the Bill of Rights in the U.S. Constitution, but the body of the French Constitution still had to be written to give form to the new government. The slogan of the Revolution became LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY. (See Plate 4)

VOICE NINE -- A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL GUARD

I am a member of the National Guard. We were organized last year to keep peace after the storming of the Bastille. It is now a year later, July 14, 1790. Today the King presided over a parade of contingents from the National Guard from all over France. We took an oath to the King, the law, and the nation to demonstrate popular acceptance of the new society of free men and women. (See Plate 5)

VOICE TEN -- OLYMPE DE GOUGES

My name is Olympe de Gouges. By 1791 the National Assembly had completed the writing of the new constitution, but in that constitution women could neither vote nor hold office. I am a self-educated writer of plays and pamphlets, but I am best known for my Declaration of the Rights of Woman and Citizen, which I addressed to Marie-Antoinette. In it I declared, "Woman, wake up! . . . know your rights . . . Man enslaved has had recourse to your forces in order to break his own chains. Having become free, he has become unjust toward his mate. Oh Women! Women! When will you cease to be blind?"

VOICE ELEVEN -- MARIE-ANTOINETTE

My name is Marie-Antoinette. I am the wife of King Louis XVI. I was Austrian born and never very popular with the French people. It is fair to say that I was despised by many. During the early part of the Revolution my family and I were held virtual prisoners in Paris. As the leaders of the Revolution became more radical, many of them called for the elimination of the King altogether. I planned an escape for my family, but on the night we slipped away the King was recognized, and our family was brought back to Paris.
A year later when France went to war against Austria, many believed we were involved in a conspiracy with my brother, the Emperor of Austria, against the French Revolutionaries. These suspicions led to the overthrow of the King. My husband was imprisoned and sent to the guillotine on January 21, 1793. I was executed that same year. Our son, Louis XVII, died in prison two years later at the age of ten. (See Plates 6,7,8)

VOICE TWELVE -- MAXIMILIEN ROBESPIERRE

My name is Maximilien Robespierre. I was a leader of the Revolution and had been elected to the new government called the National Convention in 1792. France was at war with the tyrants who were kings in other European countries. We were faced with enemies both inside of France and out. I helped organize the Committee of Public Safety to organize the war effort and rid France of her enemies at home. I claim this was necessary to save the Republic. During this period, sometimes called the Reign of Terror, about 20,000 men, women, and children were killed by the guillotine. The streets of Paris ran red with blood. But the tide of revolution soon turned, and some fellow Jacobins felt the Revolution had gone too far. When they turned against me, I was executed by the same guillotine that had executed so many others. My death ended the Reign of Terror, but not the Revolution. (See Plate 10)

VOICE THIRTEEN -- A STUDENT

I am a student of the French Revolution 200 years after the events occurred. If I had attended the Festival of the Supreme Being on June 8, 1793, I would have seen hundreds of participants in a ceremony dedicated to the Cult of the Supreme Being that Robespierre had started. Deputies of the Convention would march up the hill to sing the French national anthem, the Marseillaise. They carried fruit to the summit where a tree of liberty was planted. Nearby on the hill figurines symbolizing liberty and equality stood atop a column.

I would have been awestruck by the number of spectators at this event. It is estimated that they numbered at least one-half million on the side of the mountain that day. Some say it was during this Revolution that a new force was born in the world -- a force called NATIONALISM with the power to change the world for better or for worse. It was a new civil religion based on patriotism and love of one's country and fellow citizen. It brought to people in France and to millions of others in the world both liberty and equality. To others, the excesses of this new civil religion have meant wars and a brand of fraternity that crushes individual differences for the sake of the nation's glory.

So, here is to the Revolution. Never simple . . . not yet ended. It is for each of us as students of the Revolution to find its meaning for its time . . . and for our own. (See Plate 9)

Day 3 Name _____ Class _____ Date _____

WORKSHEET

40 Analyzing a Primary Source: The Storming of the Bastille

Read the following passage, an eyewitness account of the fall of the Bastille, and then answer the questions below. Read textbook page 396 for background information.

Veteran armies . . . have never performed greater prodigies [feats] of valor than this leaderless multitude of persons belonging to every class, workmen of all trades who, mostly ill-equipped and unused to arms, boldly affronted the fire from the ramparts and seemed to mock the thunderbolts the enemy hurled at them. . . .

The attackers, having demolished the first drawbridge and brought their guns into position against the second, could not fail to capture the fort. . . .

. . . One of the [soldiers] opened the gate behind the drawbridge and asked what we wanted. "The surrender of the Bastille," was the answer, on which he let us in. At the same time the besiegers lowered the great bridge. . . .

Those who came in first treated the conquered enemy humanely and embraced the staff officers to show there was no ill-feeling. But a few soldiers posted on the platforms and unaware that the fortress had surrendered discharged their muskets, whereupon the people, transformed with rage, threw themselves on the [soldiers]. . . .

. . . Several . . . [individuals] contended for the honor of having arrested the Marquis de Launay [the governor of the Bastille] . . . and a few others undertook to guard him and succeeded in getting him out of the Bastille, though he was roughly handled by the people, who were calling for his death. . . .

But the fury of the crowd continued to increase and their blind wrath did not spare de Launay's escort. . . . Exhausted by his efforts to defend his prisoner . . . he had to separate from M. de Launay. . . . Hardly had he sat down when, looking after the procession, he saw the head of M. de Launay stuck on the point of a pike. . . . The people, fearing that their victim might be snatched away from them, hastened to cut his throat on the steps of the Hotel de Ville [City Hall]. . . .

In the intoxication [excitement] of victory the unfortunate inmates of the dungeons of the Bastille had been forgotten. All the keys had been carried off in triumph and it was necessary to force the doors of the cells. Seven prisoners were found. . . .

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1. What kinds of people stormed the Bastille? _____

_____

2. What turned the mob from fairly reasonable to fierce? _____

_____

3. Why do you think people competed with one another to arrest the Marquis de Launay? _____

_____

4. According to your textbook, why was the Bastille attacked? _____

_____

5. What significance did the attack on the Bastille have as a symbol? _____

_____

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Day 4

Handout A

Challenge of Change, pgs. 84-92

Focus Questions

1. What were the complaints of the two main factions represented in the Assembly?
   The "Right":

   The "Left":

2. Why do you think Austria and Prussia tried to organize all the other European powers to attack France?

3. How did the new government (after Louis XVI's death, "The Convention") try to organize the nation to meet the Austrian invasion?

4. If the revolution in France was organized to achieve political rights for all citizens, then what explains Robespierre's ability to conduct such a brutal campaign of terror against its own citizens?

Document 6. **Day 5**

Robespierre Outlines the Goals of the Revolution

Maximilien Robespierre, "the Incorruptible," was the driving force in the Reign of Terror (1793–1794) that took the lives of twenty thousand people. There is no doubt that he was an honest, unselfish, and devoted patriot at a time when many citizens were busy looking after their own interests.

He dedicated himself to the establishment of a "Republic of Virtue." "Virtue" to Robespierre was essentially what it was to Rousseau — active public spirit and complete devotion to the good of the community. Dazzled by the vision of an ideal society, Robespierre was willing to go to any lengths to realize his dream; terror was but a means of accomplishing a noble end, a means of ridding the community of criminals, traitors, and even the indifferent. Like many modern dictators, Robespierre was convinced that his revolutionary regime was essential until the external and internal enemies of the state were obliterated.

In February 1794, while the Terror was raging, Robespierre outlined his aims in a speech.

It is time to mark clearly the aim of the Revolution and the end toward which we wish to move; it is time to take stock of ourselves, of the obstacles which we still face, and of the means which we ought to adopt to attain our objectives. . . .

What is the goal for which we strive? A peaceful enjoyment of liberty and equality, the rule of that eternal justice whose laws are engraved, not upon marble or stone, but in the hearts of all men.

We wish an order of things where all low and cruel passions are enchained by the laws, all beneficent and generous feelings aroused; where ambition is the desire to merit glory and to serve one's fatherland; where distinctions are born only of equality itself; where the citizen is subject to the magistrate, the magistrate to the people, the people to justice; where the nation safeguards the welfare of each individual, and each individual proudly enjoys the prosperity and glory of his fatherland; where all spirits are enlarged by the constant exchange of republican sentiments and by the need of earning the respect of a great people; where the arts are the adornment of liberty, which ennobles them; and where commerce is the source of public wealth, not simply of monstrous opulence for a few families.

In our country we wish to substitute morality for egotism, [truth] for honor, principles for conventions, duties for etiquette, the empire of reason for the tyranny of customs, contempt for vice for contempt for misfortune, pride for insolence, the love of honor for the love of money; . . . that is to say, all the virtues and miracles of the Republic for all the vices and snobbishness of the monarchy.

We wish in a word to fulfill the requirements of nature, to accomplish the destiny of mankind, to make good the promises of philosophy . . . that France, hitherto illustrious among slave states, may eclipse the glory of all free peoples that have existed, become the model of all nations. . . . That is our ambition; that is our aim.

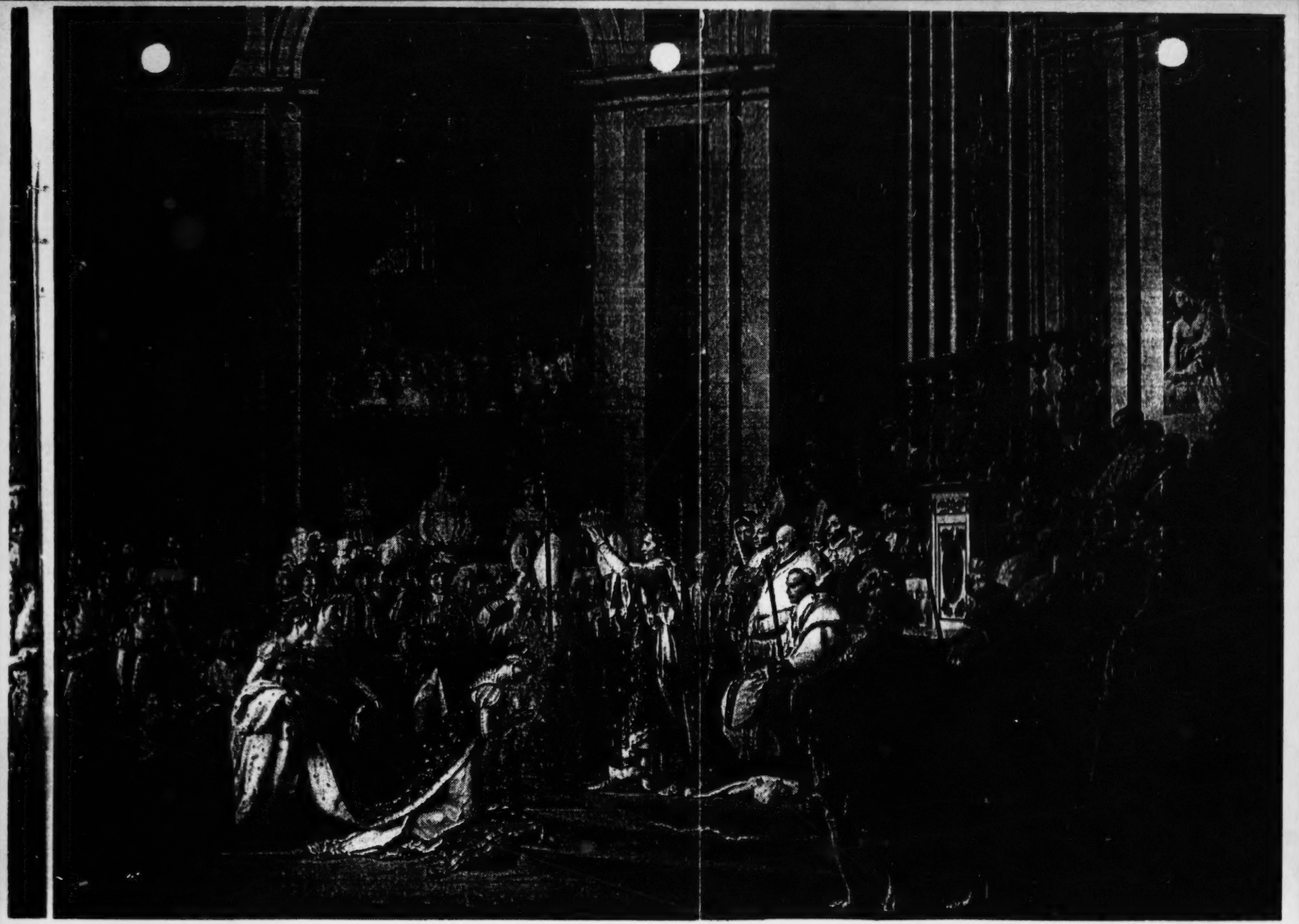
What kind of government can realize these marvels? Only a democratic government. . . . But to found and to consolidate among us this democracy, to realize the peaceable rule of constitutional laws, it is necessary to conclude the war of liberty against tyranny and to pass successfully through the storms of revolution. Such is the aim of the revolutionary system which you have set up. . . .

Now what is the fundamental principle of democratic, or popular, government — that is to say, the essential mainspring upon which it depends and which makes it function? It is virtue: I mean public virtue, . . . that virtue which is nothing else but love of fatherland and its laws. . . .

The splendor of the goal of the French Revolution is simultaneously the source of our strength and of our weakness: our strength, because it gives us an ascendancy of truth over falsehood, and of public rights over private interests; our weakness, because it rallies against us all vicious men, all those who in their hearts seek to despoil the people. . . . It is necessary to stifle the domestic and foreign enemies of the Republic or perish with them. Now in these circumstances, the first maxim of our politics ought to be to lead the people by means of reason and the enemies of the people by terror.

If the basis of popular government in time of peace is virtue, the basis of popular government in time of revolution is both virtue and terror: virtue without which terror is murderous, terror without which virtue is powerless. Terror is nothing else than swift, severe, indomitable justice; it flows, then, from virtue.

Source: Raymond P. Stearns, editor, *Pageant of Europe*, rev. ed., New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1961, pp. 404–05. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.



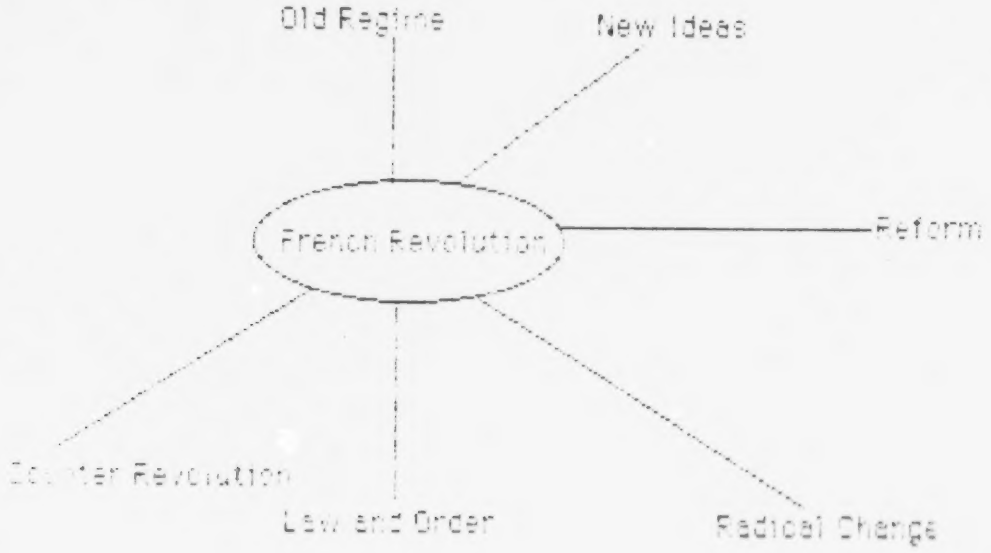
35 **Illustration 1.** 37

38

Spoke Diagram Pre-Test

Name_____ Period & Seat_____

To summarize your understanding of the French Revolution, use your notes, text, and any other sources to complete this spoke diagram. This is a circular time-line, reading clockwise. Place the names of the people listed at the bottom of this page on the proper spoke to show where they fit in the flow of events.



Names

Louis XIV	Council of Europe	U.S. Declaration of Independence
Louis XVI	emigres	Czar Alexander I
Louis XVIII	comune	Duke of Wellington (English)
Girondists	Queen Marie Antoinette	Rousseau
Jacobins	Olympia de Gouges	Declaration of Rights of Man (Fr)
Danton	directory	Locke
Marat	Marquis de Lafayette	Matternich
Robespierre	Voltaire	National Convention
Code Civil	National Assembly	Sieyes

Document 7. **Day 6**

The Grand Army Retreats from Moscow

Czar Alexander I had never been too happy with his inferior status in the partnership with Napoleon. In December 1810 he broke his agreement with the Emperor and began to trade with England. To punish this impertinence and to bring Russia securely into the orbit of the French Empire, Napoleon in June of 1812 marched into Russia at the head of 600,000 men. He anticipated a short war with a few decisive battles.

Nothing went right for Napoleon. The Russians retreated. They seldom risked battle, concentrating instead on destroying Napoleon's supplies. When the Emperor realized that he could not humble Russia and that winter was fast approaching, he was forced to order a retreat. From October to December, in icy weather, his weary army straggled westward, harried at every turn by Russian guerrillas. By the end of the journey 400,000 men had died and 100,000 had been taken prisoner. Napoleon's Grand Army was finished. The spirit of liberation swept across Europe, and the conquered peoples prepared themselves to put an end to Napoleon's domination.

The retreat from Moscow is described by one of Napoleon's generals, the Marquis de Caulaincourt.

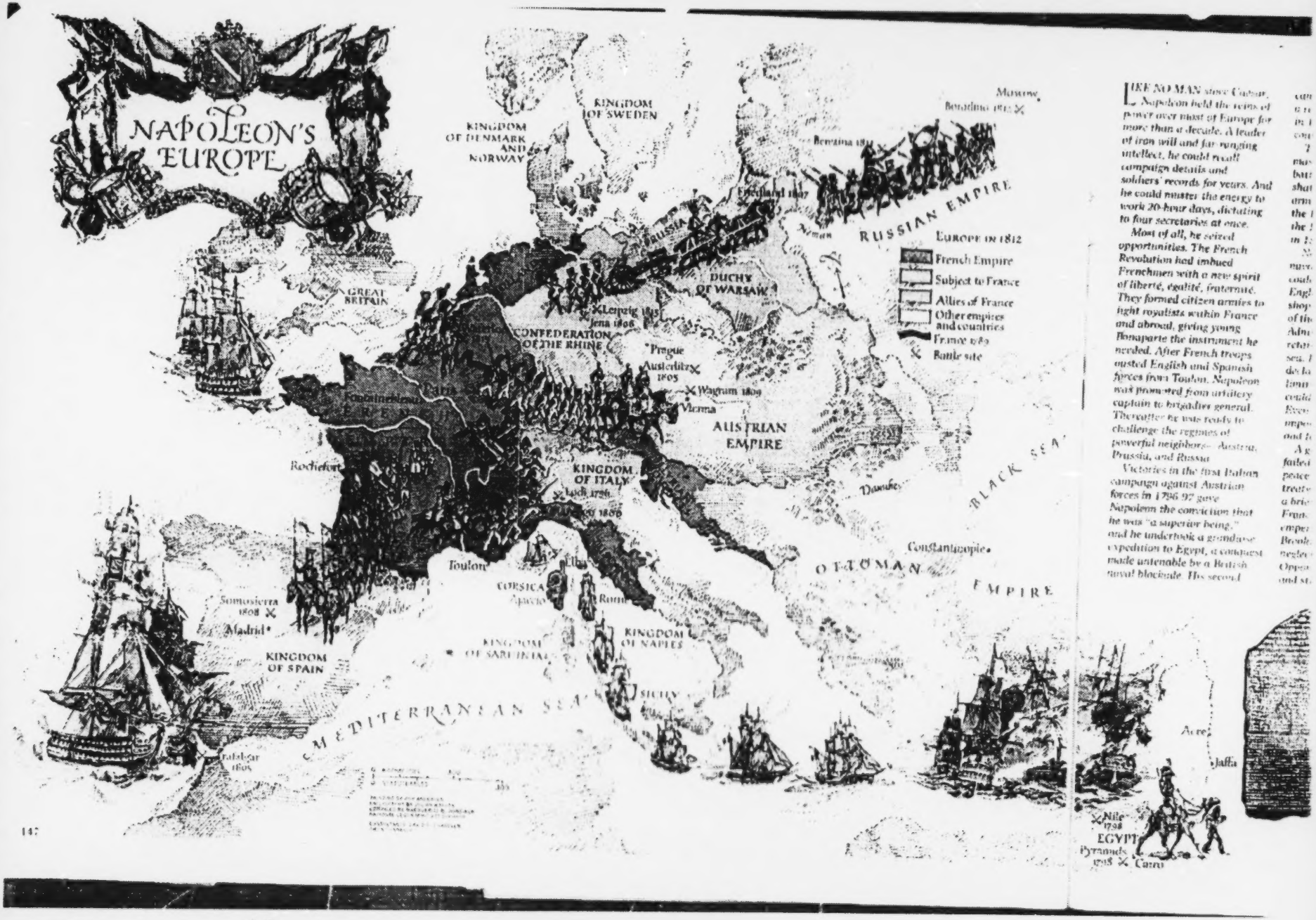
The following day, the twenty-eighth, we passed within sight of Mojaisk, but did not enter it. On his way by, the Emperor halted beside the road to obtain some account of the evacuation and of the distribution of supplies that he had ordered for the wounded. . . . In spite of all warnings that this would inevitably mean death, the unfortunate men who had left the field hospital to drag themselves along the road were placed, by his orders, wherever they could hang on — on the covers of wagons and even in the forage carts, or in the back of vehicles already crowded with the sick and wounded. . . . Those who did not die of exhaustion through the discomforts of their position, either fell victims to the cold nights or died of hunger. . . . Men in the best of health could not have endured this mode of travel and could not have held on to the vehicles in the positions in which most of them were placed. So one can imagine the state of these unhappy men when they had covered a league or two. They had to endure jolting, fatigue, and cold all at once. . . .

The country on either hand of our route had been marched over, eaten out, and left bare by the army and by the detachments that joined us. The plight of the carriages can be imagined. Having left Moscow with us, already full of refugees, women, and children, they had had to take up the men wounded at Winkovo and Malo-Jaroslawetz; and to these were added also the wounded at Mojaisk. They were put on the top seats of the carts, on the forecarriage, behind on the trunks, on the seats, in the fodder carts. They were even put on the hoods of the wagons when there was no room underneath. One can imagine the spectacle our convoys presented. At the least jolt those who were most insecurely placed fell off; the drivers took no care. The driver following, if he were not distracted or in a stupor, would not be minding his horses; or even, for fear of stopping and losing his place in the line, he would drive pitilessly on over the body of the wretch who had fallen. Nor did the other vehicles coming behind pay any heed.

Cossacks * kept up perpetual raids along the road, which they constantly crossed between one division and another — or even, when there was a gap, between one regiment and another. . . . Wherever there was no shooting to fear, wherever transport wagons were moving along in disorder or unarmed stragglers were making their way as best they could, the Cossacks improvised sudden attacks, killing and wounding, robbing all those whose lives they spared, and looting wagons and carriages when they came upon them.

It is not difficult to imagine the perturbation spread by such tactics and their effect on the army's morale. What was worse, they made communication extremely difficult, not only between one corps and another, but between one division and another. . . .

The cold was so intense that bivouacking was no longer supportable. Bad luck for those who fell asleep by a campfire! . . . One constantly found men who, overcome by the cold, had been forced to drop out and had fallen to the ground, too weak or too numb to stand. . . . Once these poor wretches fell asleep, they were dead. If they resisted the craving for sleep, another passerby would help them along a little farther, thus prolonging their agony for a short while but not saving them; for in this condition the drowsiness engendered by cold is irresistibly strong. Sleep comes inevitably; and to sleep is to die. I tried in vain to save a number of these unfortunates. The only words they uttered were to beg me, for the love of God, to go away and let them sleep. To hear them, one would have thought this sleep was their salvation. Unhappily, it was a poor wretch's last wish; but at least he ceased to suffer, without pain or agony. Gratitude, and even a smile, were imprinted on his discolored lips. What I have related about the effects of extreme cold and of this kind of death by freezing is based on what I saw happen to thousands of individuals. The road was covered with their corpses.



LIKE NO MAN since Caesar, Napoleon held the reins of power over most of Europe for more than a decade. A leader of iron will and far-ranging intellect, he could recall campaign details and soldiers' records for years. And he could muster the energy to work 20-hour days, dictating to four secretaries at once.

Most of all, he seized opportunities. The French Revolution had imbued Frenchmen with a new spirit of liberté, egalité, fraternité. They formed citizen armies to fight royalists within France and abroad, giving young Bonaparte the instrument he needed. After French troops ousted English and Spanish forces from Toulon, Napoleon was promoted from artillery captain to brigadier general. Thereafter he was ready to challenge the regimes of powerful neighbors—Austria, Prussia, and Russia.

Victories in the first Italian campaign against Austrian forces in 1796-97 gave Napoleon the conviction that he was "a superior being," and he undertook a grandiose expedition to Egypt, a conquest made untenable by a British naval blockade. His second

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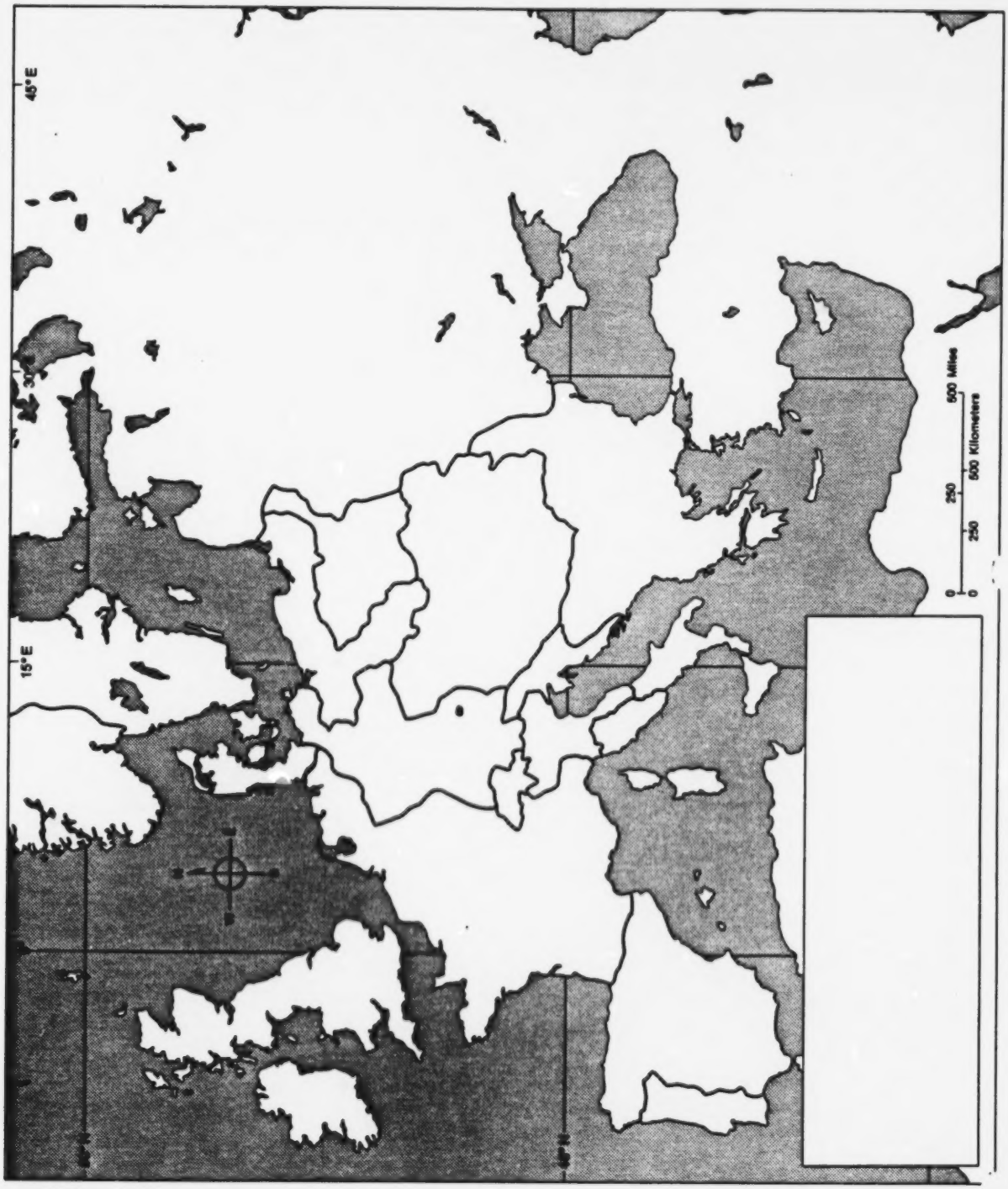
Name _____ Date _____

32 Europe in 1812



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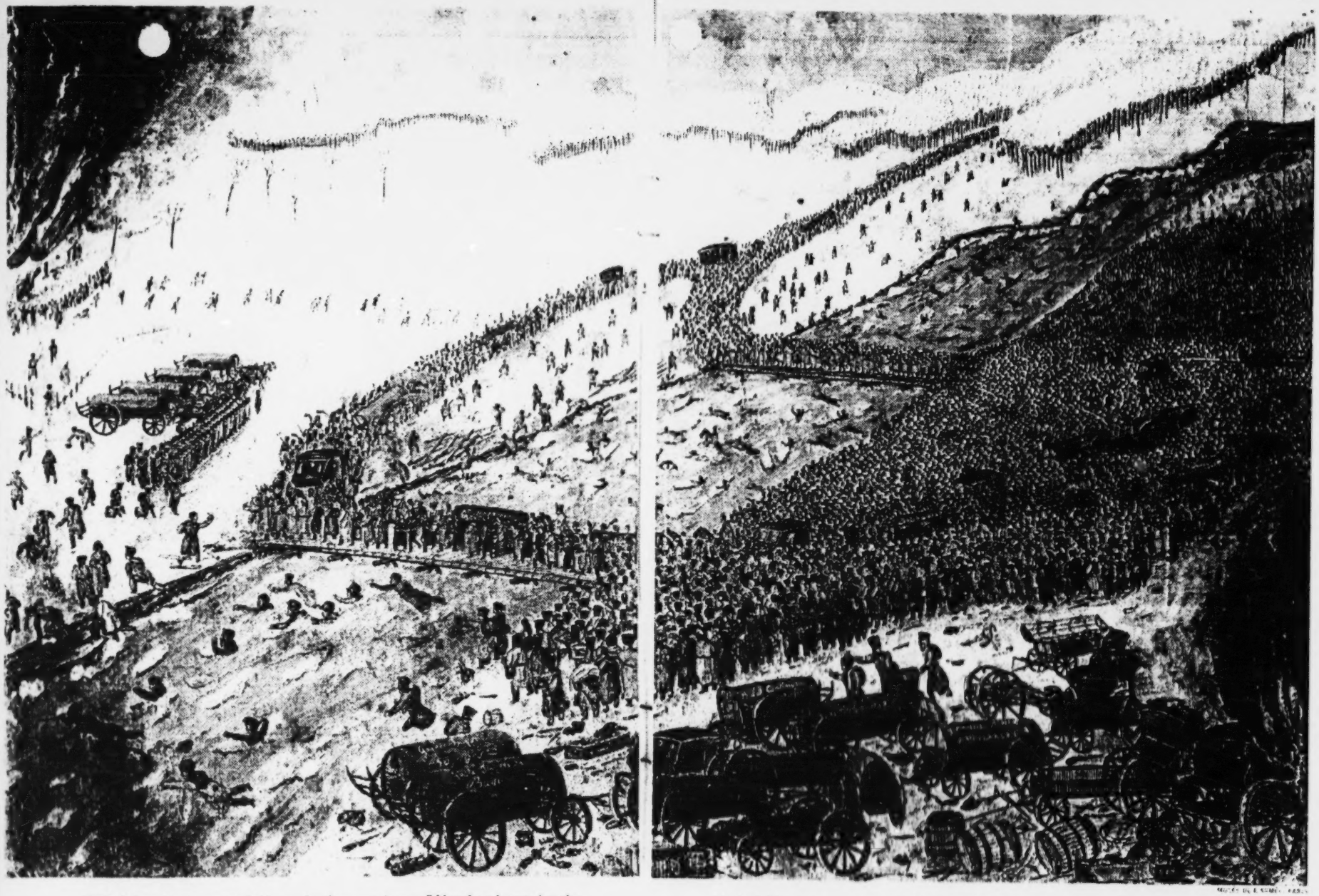

Illus-
ration 2.

"This is how to pass over a bridge under the enemy's nose." Napoleon boasted at the Berezina River during his humiliating retreat from Moscow, after five fruitless weeks waiting there for the tsar to parley. The exhausted French Army, numbering perhaps 50,000 plus thousands of noncombatants and wagonloads of baggage, "looked like a caravan, a wandering nation," to one observer. The Russians destroyed bridges, but French troops located a ford, threw up two bridges in 20 hours using timbers from houses in Studënka, diverted Russian attention elsewhere, and got the bulk of the army over. Still, thousands died in the final panic to cross

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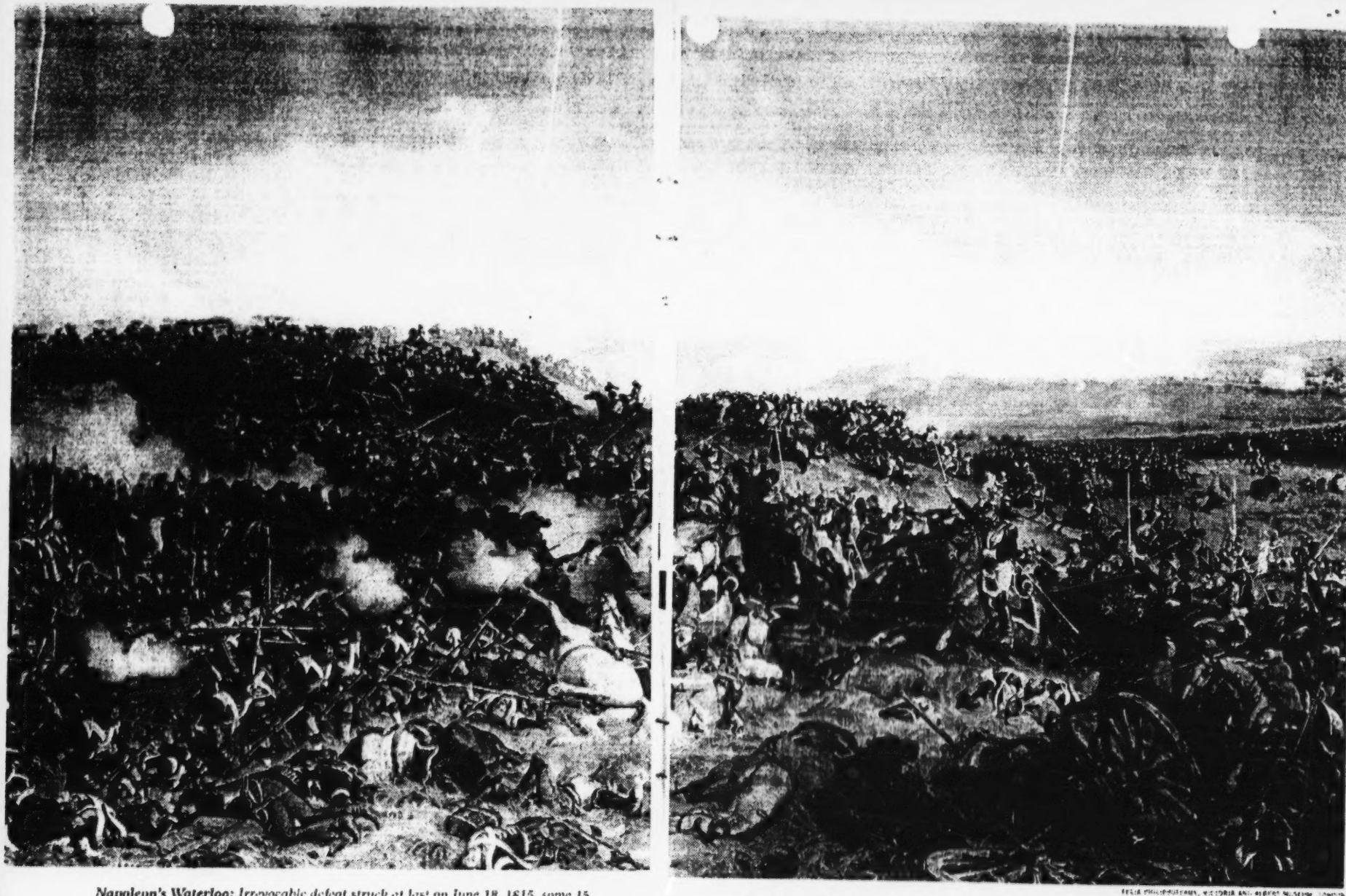

Napoleon's Waterloo: *Irrevocable defeat struck at last on June 18, 1815, some 15 weeks after Napoleon had returned to France to rally former troops and much of the populace. The allies branded him "a disturber of world peace" and moved five armies to France's borders. Napoleon took on the Duke of Wellington, who deployed 68,000 troops along a ridge near Waterloo, Belgium. Marshal Ney impulsively ordered the cavalry to attack without the usual support of infantry and artillery in "some of the boldest charges I ever saw," a Briton recalled. Their appearance was "enough to inspire a feeling of dread —none of them under six feet; defended by steel helmets and breast-plates." That evening the British would cook meat in that armor. The formidable British squares— here Scottish Highlanders—had held.*

Napoleon

Villain or Hero?

Now Napoleon—there was a fellow! Always enlightened by reason, always clear and decisive, and gifted at every moment with enough energy to translate into action whatever he recognized as being advantageous or necessary. His life was the stride of a demigod from battle to battle and from victory to victory. . . . it could . . . be said that he was in a permanent state of enlightenment, which is why his fate was more brilliant than the world has ever seen or is likely to see after him. *J. W. von Goethe*

Suddenly the master faculty reveals itself: the *artist*, which was latent in the politician, comes forth from his scabbard; he creates in the ideal and the impossible. He is once more recognized as that which he is: the posthumous brother of Dante and of Michelangelo; and verily, in view of the definite contours of his vision, the intensity, the coherence, and inner consistency of his dream, the depth of his meditations, the superhuman greatness of his conception, he is their equal: his genius has the same size and the same structure; he is one of the three sovereign spirits of the Italian Renaissance. *Hippolyte Taine*

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Document 9.

Tolstoi

A man of no convictions, no habits, no traditions, no name, not even a Frenchman, by the strangest freaks of chance, as it seems, rises above the seething parties of France, and without attaching himself to any one of them, advances to a prominent position.

The incompetence of his colleagues, the weakness and insignificance of his opponents, the frankness of the deception, and the dazzling and self-confident limitation of the man raise him to the head of the army. The brilliant personal qualities of the soldiers of the Italian army, the disinclination to fight of his opponents, and his childish insolence and conceit gain him military glory. Innumerable so-called *chance* circumstances attend him everywhere. The disfavour into which he falls with the French Directorate turns to his advantage. His efforts to avoid the path ordained for him are unsuccessful; he is not received into the Russian army, and his projects in Turkey come to nothing. . . .

On his return from Italy, he finds the government in Paris in that process of dissolution in which all men who are in the government are inevitably effaced and nullified. And an escape for him from that perilous position offers itself in the shape of an aimless, groundless expedition to Africa. Again the same so-called *chance* circumstances accompany him. Malta, the impregnable, surrenders without a shot being fired; the most ill-considered measures are crowned with success. The enemy's fleet, which later on does not let one boat escape it, now lets a whole army elude it. In Africa a whole series of outrages is perpetrated on the almost unarmed inhabitants. And the men perpetrating these atrocities, and their leader most of all, persuade themselves that it is noble, it is glory, that it is like Caesar and Alexander of Macedon, and that it is fine.

That ideal of *glory* and of *greatness*, consisting in esteeming nothing one does wrong, and glorying in every crime, and ascribing to it an incomprehensible, supernatural value—that ideal, destined to guide this man and those connected with him, is elaborated on a grand scale in Africa. Whatever he does succeeds. The plague does not touch him. The cruelty of murdering his prisoners is not remembered against him. His childishly imprudent, groundless, and ignoble departure from Africa, abandoning his comrades in misfortune, does him good service; and again the enemy's fleet lets him twice slip through their hands. At the moment when, completely intoxicated by the success of his crimes and ready for the part he has to play, he arrives in Paris without any plan, the disintegration of the Republican government, which might have involved him in its ruin a year before, has now reached its utmost limit, and his presence, a man independent of parties, can now only aid his elevation. . . .

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Document 10.

What I should like to describe is . . . not so much the actions of Napoleon's life as Napoleon himself—that singular, incomplete, but truly *marvelous* being, whom one cannot contemplate attentively without treating oneself to one of the most curious, one of the strangest spectacles that can be found in the universe.

I should like to show how much, in his prodigious enterprise, he actually owed to his genius, and with what opportunities the condition of the country and the temper of the times presented him; how and why that indocile nation [France] was then speeding, quite spontaneously, toward servitude; with what incomparable art he discovered in the most demagogic achievements of the Revolution precisely everything that was suited to despotism, and how he made despotism their natural outcome. Starting with his interior administration, I want to contemplate the spectacle of his almost divine intelligence grossly laboring at the compression of human freedom; that perfect and scientific organization of force, such as only the greatest genius living in the most enlightened and civilized age could conceive of; and, under the weight of that admirable machine, society flattened, stifled, and increasingly sterile, intellectual activity slowing down, human mind languishing, souls shrinking, great men ceasing to appear, and a limitless, flat horizon against which nothing can be seen, no matter in which direction one's eyes may turn, save the colossal figure of the emperor himself.

Alexis de Tocqueville

Document 11.

Mme. de Staël

It has often been said that if Bonaparte had kept measure, he would have maintained himself in power. But what is meant by "keeping measure"? If, sincerely and dignifiedly, he had established the English form of government in France, no doubt he would still be emperor. His victories created him a prince; it took his love of etiquette, his need of flattery, his titles, his decorations, his courtiers to make the upstart reappear in him. Yet no matter how senseless his policy of conquest may have been, it may be that once his soul had sunk so low as to see no more greatness except in despotism, he became incapable of managing without perpetual war: for what would a despot be without military glory in a country such as France? Was it possible to oppress the nation . . . without at least giving it the fatal compensation of oppressing other nations in turn? The greatest evil plaguing mankind is absolute power.

Mme. de Staël

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Document 12.

By Harold King

One of the best of modern French historians, M. Georges Lefebvre, who himself had a reserved attitude towards Napoleon and was aware of the changes which made the young general of the Revolution almost unrecognizable in the power-thirsty emperor, has attempted a balanced portrait in the following words:

"His (Napoleon's) brain is among the most perfect that have ever been. His ever ready attention seizes indefatigably upon facts and ideas which his memory registers and classifies. His imagination plays with them freely, and a state of incessant secret tension enables it t i r e l e s s l y to produce those political and strategic theses which reveal themselves to him as sudden intuitions comparable to those of the mathematician and the poet.

Saw Into Himself

"This happens especially at night when he wakes up suddenly. He himself speaks of 'the moral spark' and 'the after-midnight presence of mind.'

"This is what makes him (Napoleon) unsociable, not a certain brutality as of a somewhat battered condottiere let loose upon the world in all his ferocity. His was only fair to himself when he said: "I am not at bottom a bad sort."

He showed generosity and even kindness to his immediate environment, but between ordinary mortals and Napoleon Bonaparte, who was all effort and concentration, there could exist no common measure nor true community.

Out of this physical and intellectual disposition arose that irresistible impulse towards action and domination which is called ambition.

He saw clearly into himself: "It is said that I am ambitious, but this is an error, or at least my ambition is so intimately allied to my whole being that it cannot be separated from it." It cannot be better expressed. Napoleon is before all else a temperament.

Document 13.

THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW
Dying soldier curses Napoleon

PAUL DELAROCHE. MUSÉE DE L'ARMÉE, PARIS

53

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Document 14.

THE CALVIN BULLOCK COLLECTION, NEW YORK

Retour de l'île d'Elbe (février 1815). Detail from the painting by Karl Steuben (1788-1856). Napoleon sailed from Elba on February 26th and nine days later reached Grenoble where a garrison of troops marched out to attack him. Napoleon stepped forward: "If there is one among you who wishes to kill his Emperor, here I am." A pause, then "Vive l'Empereur!" rose from a thousand throats as the former troops knelt at his feet.

COURVOISIER
COGNAC

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47

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The Long Dead Simulation Activity

Purpose:

To expand your historic vision to include a picture of what life was like for "common" people during the era of the French Revolution and Napoleanic conquests.

Instruction:

We will now begin preparing for a solemn ceremony. Just as the Vietnam War Memorial is intended to keep alive in our minds the individual people who died during in a particular conflict in our history, now I want you to bring to life someone who lived in the era we have just studied. I want you to visualize a common person, whose name is not in the history books, whose life was affected by the tumult of events and who is now long dead. We will memorialize those long dead in this activity.

You may have fought with Napolean, or participated in the Terror. You may have been a peasant who stayed in one village your entire life. You might have moved ~~from~~ into the city because of the wars, or you may have been born and raised there. You could have been a farmer or the daughter of a rich lady's servant, a soldier or a seller in the market. You have been dead for close to two centuries. Just as you invent your life, you must also invent your death. You could have been slain in battle, or died in childbirth, from starvation, dysentery, or old age. We will not judge you by the life you invent, for this is a test of imagination, not a description of the real you.

Tonight, you will go home and write about your life. You will have to imagine what your life was like, because, as I said, you were not entered into any history book. When you come back in tomorrow, you will take your place in a graveyard, with a tombstone. You will then awaken to tell who you are and the manner of your death to someone else in class. Each person in class will also act as a recorder, recording someone else's story. Each of you will then prepare a nameplate, with an epilogue, to be posted on the French Revolution Memorial Wall. As each plaque is posted, the life and death of that person will be spoken about by the one who recorded their story.

In writing your story tonight, remember the events of this era, and try to imagine the common people affected by those events. Decide on the basic facts of the person you are imagining and answer these questions: **Where did you live? What did you do? Did the revolution and its aftermath affect your life? How did you die?**

Day Two of The Long Dead Simulation Activity

Instructions:
Choose a tombstone with your French name on it. If there is not a name you like, turn one over and write your name on it. What we have here are cemeteries full of the Long Dead. You have been dead close to two centuries! Half of the class will now lay themselves down upon the floor, or recline appropriately at your desks, holding up your tombstones, while the other half , acting as recorders, awaken you and draw from you your story. Do not read your story from what you have written -- you must tell it. Remember, the lives of the common people are only known by what people tell about them. When the recorders have finished recording someone's story, they will go back to their seats and take up their own tombstones. When your story is recorded, you may dispense with your tombstone and go record someone else's story.

Once you have recorded the story of one of The Long Dead, it is your job to memorialize that person. You will need to do three things:

1. Write an epigraph (or epigram!) This should be short and can be witty. It should say something about the person you are memorializing, as it would be inscribed on their tombstone.

2. Prepare an 8 1/2" x 11" blank piece of paper turned sideways as a plate to be affixed to the French Revolution Memorial Wall. This plate should include the person's name, your epigraph, and any decoration that might be appropriate.

3. Prepare a paragraph that you can read aloud, beginning with the following sentence: "I speak for _____."

Here are a few examples:

"I speak for Henri. I died in a sanatorium after the war. I was one of the few who returned to my village, but the strain was too much. My family committed me to that sanatorium. They were rich and disappointed that I had not become an officer. I spent nine years in that place. Visions of the war kept coming back. I saw always blood, and all the poor. I was 33."

"I speak for Natasha, age 35, a wife and mother of 3 sons. When the troops came into our village we did not give them food. They got angry and they got rid of us. Several soldiers stabbed me and left me on the side of the road to die."

Concluding The Lond Dead Activity

The teacher should conclude the activity by donning a cape, sitting at the desk with a pen and candle, and reading (as if he or she were Napolean writing his speech), Napolean's final words to his troops:

Farewell to His Guard

Fontainbleu, April 20, 1814

"Soldiers of my Old Guard, I bid you farewell. For twenty years you have been my constant companions on a path of honour and glory . . . With men such as you our cause could not have been lost, but a protracted civil war would have ensued and the sufferings of France would thereby have been augmented. I have therefore sacrificed all our interests to those of the country. I depart: you, my friends, will continue to serve France, whose happiness has ever been the only subject of my thoughts, and still will be the sole object of my wishes! . . . Farewell, my comrades! I should wish to press you all to my bosom: let me at least, embrace your standard!:... (At these words...Napoleon kissed the flag.)

Napolean's death may also be reported, here, or earlier in the activity:

"Now we do know how it was when Napoleon died because 30 people were in the room with him. And it is known that he said to somebody, 'Can I not have even the small drink of coffee?' And that person answered, 'No sir, you have already been sick many times.' He'd been sick eight times that day. And he said to Napoleon, 'Your stomach will not stand it.' At that time people were not able to tell Napoleon that he was dying. He died that day, having asked for just a spoonful of coffee.

Evaluation questions:

1. What did you like about this activity?

2. What did it make you think about?

The Political Creed of Prince Metternich

Day 10

If the radical spirit of the French Revolution was to blame for the disruption and bloodshed in Europe, it was essential to suppress and eradicate that spirit in order to insure peace and stability. So reasoned Prince Metternich, the handsome and brilliant Foreign Minister of the Austrian Empire. What he considered good for Europe was crucial to the continued existence of the Austrian Empire, which contained many different cultural and linguistic groups. There, any concessions of freedom or nationality would have had a disintegrating effect. Until his fall from power in the Revolution of 1848, he was the dominant conservative force in Europe. Wherever revolution broke out, he was prepared to muster forces to crush it. Though the occasional rising succeeded, he was able to hold back the tide of liberty and nationalism for a time.

Czar Alexander I, who had entertained some hazy liberal notions in 1815, had been converted to Metternich's wisdom in 1820. At the request of the Czar, Metternich sent him a secret memorandum outlining his political creed.

Kings have to calculate the chances of their very existence in the immediate future; passions are let loose and league together to overthrow everything which society respects on the basis of its existence; religion, public morality, laws, customs, rights, and duties — all are attacked, confounded, overthrown, or called in question. The great mass of the people are tranquil spectators of these attacks and revolutions, and of the absolute lack of all means of defense. A few are carried off by the torrent, but the wishes of the immense majority are to maintain a repose which exists no longer and of which even the first elements seem to be lost.

What is the cause of all these evils? By what methods has this evil established itself, and how is it that it penetrates into every vein of the social body? . . . This evil may be described in one word — presumption; the natural effect of the rapid progression of the human mind toward the perfecting of so many things. This it is which in the present day leads so many individuals astray, for it has become an almost universal sentiment.

Religion, morality, legislation, economy, politics, administration — all have become common and accessible to everyone. Knowledge seems to come by inspiration; experience has no value for the presumptuous man; faith is nothing to him; he substitutes for it a pretended individual conviction, and to arrive at this conviction dispenses with all inquiry and with all study; for these means appear too trivial to a mind which believes itself strong enough to embrace at one glance all questions and all facts. Laws have no value for him because he has not contributed to make them, and it would be beneath a man of his parts to recognize limits traced by rude and ignorant generations. Power resides in him; why should he submit himself to that which was useful only for the man deprived of light and knowledge? . . .

Presumption makes every man the guide of his own belief, the arbiter of laws according to which he is pleased to govern himself or to allow someone else to govern him and his neighbors; it makes him, in short, the sole judge of his own faith, his own actions, and the principles according to which he guides them. . . .

It is principally the middle classes of society which this moral gangrene has affected, and it is only among them that the real heads of the party are found.

For the great mass of the people it has no attraction and can have none. The labors to which this class — the real people — are obliged to devote themselves are too continuous and too positive to allow them to throw themselves into vague abstractions and ambitions. The people know what is the happiest thing for them: namely, to be able to count on the morrow, for it is the morrow which will repay them for the cares and sorrows of today. . . .

There is, besides, scarcely any epoch which does not offer a rallying cry to some particular faction. This cry, since 1815, has been *Constitution*. . . .

The governments, having lost their balance, are frightened, intimidated, and thrown into confusion by the cries of the intermediary class of society, which, placed between the kings and their subjects, breaks the scepter of the monarch and usurps the cry of the people — that class so often disowned by the people and nevertheless too much listened to, caressed, and feared by those who could with one word reduce it again to nothingness. . . .

We are convinced that society can no longer be saved without strong and vigorous resolutions on the part of the governments still free in their opinions and actions. . . .

The first and greatest concern for the immense majority of every nation is the stability of the laws and their uninterrupted action — never their change. Therefore let the governments govern, let them maintain the groundwork of their institutions, both ancient and modern; for if it is at all times dangerous to touch them, it certainly would not now, in the general confusion, be wise to do so. . . .

Let them be just, but strong; beneficent, but strict.

Let them maintain religious principles in all their purity and not allow the faith to be attacked and morality interpreted according to the social contract or the visions of foolish sectarians.

Let them suppress secret societies, that gangrene of society.

In short, let the great monarchs strengthen their union and prove to the world that if it exists, it is beneficent and ensures the political peace of Europe.

Name_____ Period & Seat_____

Spoke Diagram Evaluation Sheet

Basic Requirements	No		Yes
All important ideas are present and correctly organized	☐	☐	☐
Central Thesis is a conclusion backed up by the spokes	☐	☐	☐
Clear organization and subordination (color, varying sizes of print, spacing, etc.)	☐	☐	☐
Good details	☐	☐	☐
Neat, clean and easy to read	☐	☐	☐

Reaching for Excellence	Very Good	Outstanding
Visual Quality	☐	☐
Overall Creativity and Personal Touches (including graphics, puns, design, etc.)	☐	☐
Details not covered in class	☐	☐

One thing I particularly liked:

A suggestion for the future:

GRADE ____

Spoke Diagram Test

Name_____ Period & Seat_____

In the space below, create a spoke diagram including all the main events you are familiar with from your study of the French Revolution. Place these events in an organized fashion around a central theme, labelling each spoke as a period of time. Use broad categorizations for your main spokes, branching for main events, with details (such as causes or specific names) extending from the branches. You may use your notes, text, and any other sources. Check the spoke evaluation sheet to see how your diagram will be graded.